

CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



FROM THE EDITOR

As we reported in our last issue (Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1993, pp. 3 and 11), the Reverend Maksym Sandovych, a Lemko-Rusyn Orthodox priest executed by the Austrians in 1914 for his refusal to renounce his affiliation with the Orthodox faith, will be canonized by the Orthodox Church in Poland in early September 1994. Yet another canonization will take place this year, one that is much closer to home and that has particular significance in the early history of Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants in the United States, both Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic. On May 27-30, during the annual pilgrimage to St. Tikhon's Monastery in South Canaan, Pennsylvania, the Reverend Archpriest Alexis G. Toth will be officially recognized as a saint by the Orthodox Church in America.

Through Toth, who began his career as a Greek Catholic priest in the Prešov Region of Slovakia, thousands of Carpatho-Rusyns in the United States embraced Orthodoxy at the turn of the century. Our biography in this issue outlines his life and activities. It is especially interesting to note that the "return to Orthodoxy" initiated by Toth effected a similar mass conversion to Orthodoxy in the European homeland which on the eve of World War I reverberated in the life and activities of Maksym Sandovych. Like Toth, Sandovych also left the Greek Catholic Church to serve the newly founded Orthodox parishes in the Lemko Region of Poland. As we approach the threshold of the twenty-first century, the lives, careers, and now the canonization of these two Orthodox priests, Sandovych and Toth, have dovetailed in an unexpected manner.

Saints officially recognized by the church serve as a model to the faithful through their actions, their accomplishments, or by sacrificing their lives in a way that strengthens and nourishes the life of the church. On what basis, then, does the Orthodox Church make a decision for canonization? And why are Sandovych and Toth being canonized now? Ordinarily, the process of canonization begins with the local affirmation of a candidate's extraordinary spiritual worth. This affirmation may be made by laypersons, priests, hierarchs, those who knew the candidate, or others whose lives have been touched by the candidate or his or her sanctity. In time, such local veneration comes to the attention of higher ecclesiastical authorities who appoint a Canonization Commission to research the candidate's life.

The commission considers several points in its examination of a candidate. For instance, do the faithful perceive the candidate as an intercessor, as someone who has found special favor with God and who might, even in death, be asked to pray on behalf of a supplicant? Is the candidate's life morally flawless? Are the candidate's teachings perfectly Orthodox in nature? Does the candidate in his or her life provide an example for others of how to live in Christ? Or, has the candidate died in defence of the faith? In some instances, it is also attested that the candidate's corpse was found intact, uncorrupted, or exuding a fragrant oil, and at times this has supported the strong sense of his or her special favor with God. For the Orthodox, not all of these conditions are necessary for canonization. In the case of the Orthodox Church in America (OCA), the commission presents the conclusions of its study to the Holy Synod of Bishops—the council of all the bishops in the country—who make a final decision. Unlike in the Roman or Byzantine Catholic churches, there is no intermediary stage known as beatification during which yet other miracles or pieces of evidence for a person's sanctity are required in order to move the candidate on to

full canonization.

As for Maksym Sandovych, a strong local veneration has long existed. He is remembered by his people in song and story. His dedication to the Orthodox faith among Lemko Rusyns in Poland is historically unquestionable, and the brutal death for his faith and his people was witnessed as a genuine act of martyrdom. Now, in the wake of the 1989 revolutions and in the atmosphere of the resurgence of Rusyn ethnic awareness, Sandovych's special sanctity for the church and his people can be publicly recognized.

The situation of Alexis Toth differs from that of Maksym Sandovych. Here, a significant factor is that this year the Orthodox Church in America is celebrating the bicentennial of Orthodoxy in the United States. In conjunction with this celebration, numerous events are taking place which relate to the historical development of Orthodoxy and Orthodox immigrants and their descendants. From the point of view of the OCA, Toth's "glorification" or canonization is based largely on his activity as an inspiration for thousands of Carpatho-Rusyns in the United States to return to Orthodoxy.

The commission investigating Toth's life also found that he has become an intercessor for some faithful. In their official proclamation on Toth's canonization, the Holy Synod of the OCA declared, that "mindful of the apostolic injunction to 'remember your leaders' (Heb. 13:7), we give thanks to God for His great mercy toward us in raising up in our midst a faithful pastor filled with zeal for the glory of God, and for the salvation of his own people." The Holy Synod recognizes Toth's sanctity in his vibrant energy, in his "steadfastness and his leadership in bringing thousands of souls back to the Orthodox Church, manifested by his words and deeds among his own Carpatho-Russian and Galician people in America." In the case of both Sandovych and Toth, comprehensive biographies are being prepared, icons of the new saints produced, liturgical hymns and verses created, and feastdays designated.

Was it his Greek Catholic heritage that Toth was rejecting in his move to Orthodoxy, or perhaps more accurately what he considered the Roman church's intent on sweeping away all that his people held dear? Whatever the motivation, the Orthodox Church in America benefited enormously from Toth's efforts. Most members of the Orthodox Church in America are descendants of Greek Catholic Rusyns and owe their membership to Toth's activities. In that sense, it would seem quite appropriate during this celebratory year that the Orthodox Church in America reconsider the Carpatho-Rusyn cultural heritage of the majority of its members. This suggestion in no way implies a renewal of the often divisive "ethnic" activity of the past. It is rather a plea on behalf of Toth's descendants that the Orthodox Church in America emphasize the study and encourage the use of Carpathian plainchant in English translation in its churches, that the OCA recognize along with the sanctity of the son of Carpatho-Rusyns also the validity of his cultural heritage—a heritage which has so often occupied second place after the Great Russian legacy.

OUR FRONT COVER

Drawing of Buštino by Alfred Gluck for Alex Kraus's book *Buštino As Remembered*

ALEXIS G. TOTH (1853-1909)

During the last decades of the nineteenth century when tens of thousands of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe began to arrive on America's shores, several new churches were established to serve the spiritual needs of the newcomers. Among the bodies that grew most rapidly by the turn of the twentieth century was the Russian Orthodox Church. This was particularly remarkable in that there were so few Orthodox immigrants from the Russian Empire. Where then, did all these "Russian" Orthodox adherents come from? The answer lies in the story of a man who has come to be known in official Orthodox publications as the "father of Orthodoxy in America." The person in question was neither Orthodox nor for that matter Russian, but rather a Greek Catholic priest of Carpatho-Rusyn origin named Alexis G. Toth.

Alexis Toth was born in 1853 in a Carpatho-Rusyn village in Spiš county, then in the Hungarian Kingdom and today in the Prešov Region of northeastern Slovakia. The young Alexis followed in the footsteps of his father and was ordained to the priesthood in 1878. Although he began his priestly career in a village parish in the Greek Catholic Diocese of Prešov, this experience was not to last long. Recognizing his talents, the bishop of Prešov appointed Toth in 1880 to be his diocesan chancellor and one year later made him professor and rector of the Greek Catholic Seminary in Prešov. Toth's career as a high-ranking member of the Rusyn Greek Catholic hierarchy in the European homeland was to last less than a decade, however, because in 1889 he accepted an invitation to go to America.

Unlike the other early priests who served new parishes in Pennsylvania and nearby states, Toth went instead farther west to a small community of Carpatho-Rusyn Greek Catholics in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He celebrated his first mass in November 1889. Soon after, he reported, according to custom, to the local ecclesiastical superior—at the time Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Paul, John Ireland. This was a fateful meeting. It was brief but stormy and was to change irreversibly the history of Eastern Christianity in the New World.

Archbishop Ireland was at the time one of the leading figures of the so-called Americanization movement. In religious terms, this represented the efforts to have Catholicism accepted into American life. As a corollary, the Catholic Church should remain a unified American church without any distinct ethnic parishes, and furthermore the immigrants had preferably to give up their European traditions (religious and otherwise) and assimilate to the mainstream American norm. Therefore, when Archbishop Ireland learned that the newly-arrived Reverend Toth not only failed to fulfill the Americanizing ideal, but—worse still—he had been married, the Roman Catholic prelate refused to recognize Toth's priestly status and forbade him to perform his duties. The determined Toth, proud of his own Eastern-rite traditions (which included a married clergy) simply continued to minister to his Minneapolis parish.

Meanwhile, Ireland together with other American bishops convinced the Vatican to decree (on October 1, 1890) that all Greek Catholic priests in America must be celibate and remain subordinate to local Roman Catholic bishops. In response to this threat to their canonical status, the Reverend Toth travelled to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, where he was made chairman of a council of Greek Catholic priests concerned about their status in America.

During the following months, Toth's relations with Archbishop Ireland worsened, until he decided to break entirely



with Rome. In March 1891, he and his parish were accepted into the Russian Orthodox Church. The move was hailed by some as the legitimate return of Rusyns to their ancestral Orthodox faith. In 1892, the energetic Toth left for eastern Pennsylvania where he proceeded—with the financial backing of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia—to convert several Greek Catholic parishes to Orthodoxy. By the time of his death in 1909, Toth had succeeded in bringing at least 20,000 Greek Catholics into the Orthodox fold. The "return to Orthodoxy" even had an effect on the European homeland as returning immigrants followed Toth's example by converting many of the native Carpathian villages to Orthodoxy.

It is for these reasons that a very high percentage of the membership in today's Orthodox Church in America (the successor to the Russian Orthodox Church) are descendants of those early Greek Catholic parishes converted by the father of Orthodoxy in America, the Carpatho-Rusyn priest Alexis G. Toth.

Philip Michaels

UPCOMING EVENT

South Canaan, Pennsylvania. On May 27-30, 1994, at St. Tikhon's Orthodox Monastery and Seminary, the Reverend Archpriest Alexis G. Toth will be canonized by the Orthodox Church in America. Ceremonies of canonization, celebrated by Metropolitan Theodosius and other members of the Holy Synod of Bishops of the OCA, will take place during the 90th Annual Memorial Day Pilgrimage to the Monastery where the archpriest is buried. An invitation to attend the ceremonies has been extended to Bishop Nikolai of the Orthodox Church in Slovakia's Prešov Region and other dignitaries. For further information, contact St. Tikhon's Seminary main office (717-937-4411) or the Diocesan Center of Eastern Pennsylvania (717-937-4686).

THE JEWS OF OLD MÁRAMAROS IN THE HOMELAND, NEW YORK CITY, AND TEL AVIV

The following piece is excerpted from an article of the same title in "Going Home," Jack Kugelmass, ed., Northwestern University Press and Yivo Annual (21), 1993, pp. 369-394. The author, Dr. Slyomovics, is an assistant professor in the Department of Comparative Literature at Brown University. This is the first of three articles on Jews in Subcarpathian Rus' by different authors which will appear in this year's issues of the C-RA.—Editor

My family background connects me to a place in East Central Europe—the old Hungarian Máramaros county in Subcarpathian Rus', which is located largely in today's Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. Until recently I had never seen this place with my own eyes, but rather experienced it through tales and legends recounted by parents, relatives, and the larger circle of former inhabitants who now meet at *landsmanshaft* or hometown society meetings organized by Jewish emigrants in New York City and Tel Aviv.

I finally journeyed to the area in connection with my research on Máramaros Jews and on the legends and activities of a miracle-working rabbi named Rebbele (Rabbi) Mordkhele Leifer. His gravesite in Máramaros continues to be a place of pilgrimage and is located in my mother's native village, rendered in Czech as Buštino (Hungarian: Bustyaháza; Rusyn: Buštyna; Yiddish: Bishtina). Until May 1989, interviews and oral narratives were the only possible sources concerning the subject of my inquiries. Other American Jews had regularly visited ancestral villages in Poland or Hungary. I could not go as a tourist to what had been, during my parents' time between the two world wars, the Czechoslovak province of Subcarpathian Rus'. After World War II, the Soviets annexed Subcarpathian Rus' (including those districts of the former Hungarian county of Máramaros that lay north of the Tysa River) and called their new acquisition the Transcarpathian oblast of the Ukrainian SSR. Until very recently only the oblast capital of Užhorod (Hungarian: Ungvár), one hundred and fifty kilometers distant from my parents' villages, was accessible to travellers on restricted and expensive tours conducted by the former Soviet Union's state travel bureau, Intourist.

After 1918, when Máramaros was divided between Czechoslovakia and Romania, the county ceased to exist as an administrative entity except in the collective memory of its former inhabitants. This is particularly marked among Máramaros Jews currently residing in New York City, Tel Aviv, or even in present-day Transcarpathia. It is only among these surviving Jews that the idea of an intact pre-1918 Austro-Hungarian Máramaros county is sustained. In effect, their organizations and institutions continue to represent a place that exists primarily by way of a collective will to remember.

Memories of life in Máramaros narrated by and about my family were painful experiences, whereas my travelling alone to Soviet Transcarpathia finally in 1989 was a carefree, enjoyable adventure that neither enhanced nor negated the vividness of representations conveyed to me through decades of storytelling. I tramped the Carpathian foothills intrigued by their striking resemblance to New York State's Catskill Mountains. Now that visits are possible, many of my parents' generation actually choose to avoid the trip back home, since for them the recollection of past destruction brings only bitterness so intense that treading on identical earth and dust where atrocities against Jews took place is unthinkable.

In my research on Rebbele Mordkhele and the Jews of



Tombstone listing Jewish villages and towns of Máramaros. Wall plaques list the Holocaust dead. Memorial Room, Máramaros House (Bet Maramarosh) synagogue, Tel Aviv, Israel (photo: Susan Slyomovics)

Máramaros, the question I have addressed to myself is this: what have been the expressive and performative ways for Máramaros Jews currently living in Tel Aviv and New York City to replicate Máramaros the place? How are images and recollected knowledge of a destroyed past transmitted by ritual performances?

I would suggest that this particular diaspora community has responded in two primary ways: first, by means of narrative and storytelling; and second, by a physical recreation of lost Máramaros territory. The latter is a replication elsewhere of what is ineluctably physical, namely the unvisitable Jewish cemeteries of Máramaros county. In New York City, reclaimed Máramaros takes the form of a *landsmanshaft*-owned cemetery, while in Tel Aviv it is in the form of a synagogue combined with a Holocaust memorial which functions as a cemetery. In contrast, for the few remaining Máramaros Jews still living in present-day Transcarpathia, and who still possess what is lost in New York City and Tel Aviv—that is, the geographical space with its crucial sites of burial—the narrative is ruptured and instead the cemetery has become a place of prayer, the locus for the lost and destroyed synagogues.

Place Memory

I begin with a description of the diaspora community of New York City. That community is organized in the form of two *landsmanshaftin*: the Federation of Máramaros Jews in America founded in 1924, and the all-male First Máramaros Young Men's Aid Society founded in 1912. The two sur-

vive to the present time because they preserve and expand one of the hometown society's original functions as a *chevra kadisha*, or burial society for those members who either died in New York or who perished during the Holocaust. The *landsmanshaftn* bury and commemorate these two categories of the dead by maintaining three cemeteries for America's Máramaros Jews and by honoring in annual ceremonies the sixty thousand natives of Máramaros who perished in the Holocaust and received no burial.

In Israel, the cemetery that articulates Máramaros terrain is located within the architectural space of a Tel Aviv synagogue. Known as Máramaros House (Hebrew: *Bet Máramarosh*), it was dedicated on April 29, 1973, as a central meeting place for the remaining Jews of Máramaros in Israel and the diaspora. The building is both a synagogue and a memorial house. The iconography of Holocaust mourning replaces the traditional markings of Jewish synagogues. Other Holocaust themes, often depictions of secular scenes such as the land, the people, and life in Máramaros, alternate in the Máramaros House's folk art and architecture with more traditional Jewish synagogue decoration.

While the eastern wall of the first floor is furnished with ritual objects characteristic of a Jewish house of prayer, a fixture unusual in a synagogue stands opposite the ark containing the Torah scrolls: a glass painting in a folk style showing a map of the pre-1918 Hungarian county of Máramaros, bounded by the names: Carpathians, Bukovina, Szatmar county, and Hungary—all hand-painted in Hebrew script. A second glass painting represents the main synagogue in the town of Valea Vișeuului, located south of the Tysa River, in a part of Máramaros which is now in Romania. As the congregation prays, it faces the holy ark containing the Torah scrolls. Behind their backs is the map of Máramaros, the artistic representation of their European-based brotherhood. This is an unusual instance of Jewish devotional practice backed up literally and figuratively by a parallel and competing religion of secular memory.

Another heterodox feature in the layout of the synagogue is a room called *heder hazikaron*, or memorial room. This room functions as the equivalent of the cemeteries that the Máramaros Jews are unable or unwilling to visit in Transcarpathia. The memorial room is a small square space kept perpetually dark except for small "eternal lights." In the center is a large black tombstone engraved with the one hundred and sixty names of Máramaros villages and districts. Around the walls, district by district, further subdivided village by village, are memorial plaques etched with the names of the dead. The space functions at once as a metaphorical cemetery, because there can be no corpses, and as an actual cemetery, not only because of the presence of recreated grave-stones but also because the room is opened to the community during periods of ritual mourning. While Máramaros House shares some of the iconographic features of the Holocaust memorial at the Yad Vashem Heroes and Martyrs Memorial Authority in Jerusalem, it is functionally a synagogue for study and prayer into which has been introduced a cemetery. As a synagogue and a cemetery, it is also a site of tourist pilgrimage during the spring "memorial season."

The Máramaros House in Tel Aviv is now a center for all Máramaros Jews in Israel and elsewhere in the world which almost every tourist of Máramaros extraction visiting Israel finds an opportunity to come and visit. All yearly ceremonies in commemoration of the Holocaust victims originating from Máramaros are held at the synagogue. Finally, the Máramaros synagogue-cum-cemetery is a private, independent, spontaneous commemorative gesture which may

be construed as a series of ritual acts and icons set up in opposition to the Israeli state-built and organized civic Holocaust memorials such as Yad Vashem. Therefore, people of Máramaros living in Israel need not participate in Yom Hashoah, Israel's nationally mandated Holocaust Day, or other activities sponsored by Yad Vashem, the national memorial site to the Holocaust.

Indigenous Processes of Narrative Memory

Other *landsmanshaftn* made it their first priority to commemorate the history of their demolished communities by writing and publishing memorial books (*yizkor bikher*) immediately after World War II, but the Máramaros *landsmanshaftn* were clear about the primary focus of their cultural memorializing. In the preface to their memorial book published as late as 1980, the authors state that once the project of the erection of Máramaros House in Israel has been brought to successful fruition, there resurfaced the idea of publishing a *Memorial Book of Máramaros*. Certain features of the Máramaros memorial book depart from the generic model. For example, it was written in Hebrew with an English preface, not in Yiddish, possibly because Hungarian, not Yiddish, was a primary language of many of the Jews. Also, unlike the usual memorial book which reverses the traditional order of Jewish mourning practices, the Máramaros synagogue cemetery-memorial house and the memorial book place in correct order the two mourning injunctions: first to bury and then to remember.

The Máramaros memorial book is the official recording of the past of an entire region, not of an individual *shtetl* or town. Privately, many friends, relatives, and other subscribers to the *Memorial Book of Máramaros* have voiced reservations concerning its emphasis on historical figures drawn largely from a religious, Orthodox, or Hasidic past at the expense of a more textured, secular history. In response, other memorials, which overlap with but flesh out the official record, continue to be written and published. Alexander Kraus has chosen to author a personal history of his native village which he began writing in 1980, entitled *Buštino as Remembered*. The last in the series of dedications is to "our descendants, wherever they may be in the world, who have only heard, or may only hear about Buštino." Though Kraus chooses never to walk again where he once lived, his first chapter, "A Guided Tour Around Buštino," takes us on an imaginary tour of the village in which "such a walk would have taken three hours and one would have seen everything worth seeing."

Kraus's choice of a drawing over photography for his proposed bookcover discloses his unconscious understanding of the myth of photographic truth. In the years before World War I, many Bishtiners who had emigrated to Palestine or America received an emblematic postcard from their hometown. In the foreground, a tiny, almost imperceptible, dark figure is moving diagonally across the postcard. He has just passed my maternal grandmother Elefant's store. It is winter and a light coating of snow dusts the landscape, the houses, a fir tree, and the shadowy distant Carpathian foothills.

Rather than use this well-known photograph as it was, Kraus decided in 1982 on a visit to Israel to commission Alfred (Israel) Gluck (whose wife Marta Craus comes from Buštino) to produce a cover drawing that would be based on the famous postcard. Gluck's black-and-white line drawing cropped the photograph, thereby eliminating any internal and external writing on it, and added a large hand-printed street sign, "Our Village," which continued its lettering down to the lower right hand corner forming the completed

title in Yiddish, “as remembered by a *Heimus fin Bistine*,” (a native of Buštino). From photograph to “rewritten” drawing, the tiny human figure has been enlarged, moved into the center and paired with a second figure. The two figures are to be read as cultural representations of the religious Jew and the Carpatho-Rusyn peasant.

Rebbele Mordkhele Tales

When my mother was a child in the 1930s in Buštino, her mother’s store, depicted in the postcard, marked the main crossroads of the village. One road led westward to the towns of Chust and Mukačevo; a second north-south street curved towards the cemetery which was then on the periphery of the village. By the time I arrived to the Buštino of 1989, a town of 30,000 inhabitants, the cemetery was located in the center of the town. Just as the Buštino cemetery, once located on the periphery, now located as the center of Jewish worship, so too the legends of the rabbi have supplanted pilgrimage as a ritual of commemoration.

Rabbi Mordkhele, who is buried in Buštino, was called the Nadvornor Rabbi. Like many of the miracle-working rabbis of Máramaros, he was not originally from the region but, as his title indicates, from Nadvorna in neighboring Galicia, where he was born in 1826. He was part of the influential migration of Galician rabbis and religious practices that moved southwards over the Carpathian mountains. His religious affiliation is described in ambiguous terms because he is thought to have gone southward perhaps to flee from the Frankists, a powerful offshoot of the Sabbatian movement opposed to rabbinic Judaism. Nonetheless, Rabbi Mordkhele’s genealogical and scholarly lineage was distinguished: he was a nephew of Rabbi Meir of Przemyśl, and his rabbinical authority derived from Rabbi Israel of Rizhin (1796-1850), the great-grandson of the notable Hasidic rabbi, the Maggid of Mezeritch.

He was thought to have extraordinary powers and the ability to perform miracles. By several accounts, he was one of three famous rabbis of Subcarpathian Rus’—and by many deemed the strangest. Men and women, Jews and non-Jews, patronized Rabbi Mordkhele during his lifetime and later flocked to his Buštino gravesite where he was buried in 1896. He was known for making the high low and the low high, the rich poor and the poor rich. He could “make and break families.” My great-great-grandfather, Melekh Elefant, was reputed to have lost his lumber business because he did not pay proper homage to Rabbi Mordkhele, whom he visited only after praying at the court of the rival Szigeter Rebbe (rabbi of Sighetul). Rabbi Mordkhele sternly rebuked my ancestor with words that foretold the financial failures of subsequent generations: “I am not a toilet for you to stop at on the way back. I want you to make a special trip to see me. You will pay dearly.”

Rabbi Mordkhele was said to be equally peremptory towards man, God, and the illnesses visited by God upon man. A story from my father concerning the rabbi’s bout with rheumatism begins with his physician prescribing the customary cure of taking the waters at the mineral spring of Várhegy, located several kilometers into the Carpathian mountains. Patients usually spent thirty days taking the cure, during which time family entourages would camp near the springs in order to immerse themselves once each day in the restorative sulphurous waters. After delaying his cure for months, Rabbi Mordkhele arrived with his Hasidic followers in thirty wagons loaded with cooking utensils, food, and books. In the afternoon he and his followers prayed, and awakened the next morning to pray again. Then Rabbi Mordkhele entered the mineral baths. He immersed himself thirty

times, representing the prescribed thirty immersions in thirty days, exited from the baths, and prayed addressing God in these often recounted phrases: “Lord of the Universe, I have done my part, now you do yours.” He packed everything and told his followers to break camp.

There are numerous tales of the miracles he performed during his lifetime and even after his death. My relative, Hayyim Schreter, had a wife who could not conceive. Schreter was told by Rabbi Mordkhele to buy enough white linen cloth to cover the entire cemetery, then to cut up the material in pieces, to distribute them to the poor, and then his wife would become pregnant. His wife eventually bore him a runty, half-witted child. Though mentally deficient, the child called Mendi was considered to exhibit a charmed life. One story recounted how Mendi was reported to have miraculously escaped the gas chambers at Auschwitz/Birkenau by climbing out of a narrow opening in the gas chamber window. After the war, when he settled in Montreal, Mendi once again escaped through iron-barred windows, this time from the psychiatric ward of the Allen Memorial Mental Hospital. Other versions of how Mendi’s life was saved in Auschwitz also show the continued working of the rebbe’s blessing in Mendi’s life: a Kapo was (so they say) enamored of the young Mendi and altered the tattoo number on his arm which would otherwise have sent him to the gas chambers. This explained how Mendi magically possessed two concentration camp numbers burned into his flesh.

More recently, in 1985 in Israel, my mother and I encountered two doctors originally from a town in the vicinity of Rabbi Mordkhele’s grave. They claimed that the rabbi—or his memory—was currently known for miraculously obtaining exit visas from the Soviet Union for Jews and non-Jews. They related how a dozen Jewish doctors had applied to leave Soviet Transcarpathia, but had been refused the right to emigrate for twelve years. On the advice of his father, one of the doctors and a friend decided to visit, to pray, and to light candles at Rabbi Mordkhele’s grave. Within a month both were granted the long-awaited exit visas.

My favorite childhood tale about Rabbi Mordkhele encodes an ambivalent view of the miracle-working rabbi’s efficacy. In Buštino, a man challenged another to stick a pole into the grave of Rabbi Mordkhele at midnight. The man who agreed to perform this impious act to win a bet was wearing a long caftan. When he stuck the pole into the grave, he was unaware that the pole had become entangled in his coat hem. He died of a heart attack on the spot, believing that Rabbi Mordkhele was pulling him into his grave. The question that preoccupied both Máramaros atheists and believers was whether this man was punishing himself for desecrating a grave, or was it indeed Rabbi Mordkhele “calling him to the other side.”

Miraculously the story is not over. It is as if sometimes historical events, however feebly and haltingly, have realigned narrative with place. After May 1, 1989, tourism outside of designated provincial cities was permitted in the former Soviet Ukraine. Three categories of tourists have appeared in recent years, each group focusing in different ways on the miracle-working rabbi. Nadvornor Hasidim (Hassidic Jews from Nadvorna) residing in Israel and the United States are embarking on pilgrimages to Rabbi Mordkhele’s grave. Soviet Jews who emigrated from Transcarpathia in the 1970s are returning to visit family and friends and to introduce American-born children to their former towns, including Buštino. Finally, the third group, with no ties to the area, is being lured by the mountains and mineral springs, where Rabbi Mordkhele sought his cure.

Susan Slyomovics
Providence, Rhode Island

GREGORY I. ZATKOVICH REMEMBERED

Connie Zatkovich Ash, who wrote this article for the C-RA, is a daughter of the late Gregory I. Zatkovich, the first governor of Subcarpathian Rus' when it was an autonomous province in the former Czechoslovakia. Since 1990, the city in which she resides, Corvallis, Oregon, has been a Sister City to Užhorod, Ukraine. In that time, the family has renewed efforts in researching their father's history and gathering books and materials for the family archives.—Editor

From October 27 to November 4, 1992, my daughter Jennifer and I returned to the land of my father's roots in the former Czechoslovakia and in neighboring Transcarpathia in Ukraine. We went specifically to participate in a special ceremony at Prague Castle. My father, Gregory I. Zatkovich, president of the Directorium and first governor of historic Subcarpathian Rus' (1919-1921), was among sixty-four persons posthumously honored with the presentation of the Tomáš G. Masaryk Award for Distinguished Service to Building Democracy and Protecting Human Rights. In Prague, we viewed a bronze bust of my father in the Military Museum. We were also the first family members to visit Subcarpathian Rus (Transcarpathia) in seventy years. While there, we saw the old governor's palace where my father and mother, Leona, had lived with two of our seven siblings. We walked the cobblestone streets of Užhorod's old town and visited the fortress castle on the top of a hill which once housed a seminary where our family had lived until their residence was ready for occupancy. My journey to the homeland was brief but dramatic, and it took me back into a history that I had known only through my father's stories and scrapbooks.

We had heard many of the tales: Gregory Zatkovich had immigrated to the United States at age five because his father, Pavel, an outspoken editor against the oppressive Austro-Hungarian government, was forced to flee with the police at his heels; that Gregory was a brilliant student and received his law degree from the University of Pennsylvania; that he had met our mother, Leona Kotheimer, one summer at an Ohio resort, and after a year's courtship, they were married in 1915 in her hometown of Youngstown, Ohio; that Dad was appointed first governor of Subcarpathian Rus' when, after World War I, it became an autonomous province within Czechoslovakia; and that he was the first American to retain his citizenship while heading a foreign government.

We grew up in Homestead and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Each of us children has our own vivid memories of our father. Among the shared remembrances were his love of music and the times when Gypsy bands would enliven parties in our home; his ability to play the piano by ear; his beautiful tenor voice; his love of education (he had strict rules for our studying); his great powers of concentration; his continuing involvement in U.S. election campaigns and plans for how the family would help with the mailings encouraging people to register to vote; his deep morality and honesty—we learned valuable lessons from him; the six or seven languages he spoke, switching from one to the other on the phone, and how he and mother would speak German if there was something they did not want us to hear. Every two years we have a family reunion and more stories are told.

The large brown leather scrapbook, kept in the drawer of the entry hallway in our home, was always a delight to us children and I'm afraid we almost wore it out. It contained newspaper clippings about Dad as governor, Mother, and about Greg and Joan, my brother and sister who were both



Connie Ash with bust of her father in the Military Museum, Prague

born there. Their life in the governor's palace seemed for us a veritable fairytale. There were photos of the bronze bust of Dad which he said was probably melted down for scrap during World War II; pictures of him with Czechoslovakia's founding president Tomáš Masaryk and other dignitaries before the replica of the Liberty Bell presented as a gift to Subcarpathian Rus' from Rusyn Americans. Most impressive to our young minds were the photos of our sister Joan's grave showing a white wrought iron fence surrounding it. She died in Užhorod of scarlet fever at age three and a half and was buried in Calvary Hill Cemetery at the request of the people there. Dad had even composed a ballad about this sad day. In a prominent place in our living room hung the impressive oil painting of Dad as governor. His black, piercing eyes seemed to follow us everywhere. I do not think we were aware then that he was only about thirty three years old when the portrait was done.

In the years following Dad's death from pneumonia in Pittsburgh in 1967 at age eighty, we never forgot the tales of Subcarpathian Rus' and the part Dad had played in its formation, even if we were not that familiar with the history leading up to it. After leaving the post of governor in 1921, he continued as a strong advocate for the Rusyn people through writing and lecturing, while at the same time maintaining his law practice and at various times working as City Solicitor of Pittsburgh and workmen's compensation judge, legal counsel to the Pittsburgh Greek Catholic Eparchy, and founder of the Slav Congress. Later in life, he compiled and published a map of Pittsburgh after several years of arduously tracking streets and addresses. He would invite us along for a drive or walk to find lanes and areas unlisted in outdated maps of the city. Then we would stop for an ice cream soda treat.

All of these memories came back to me as my daughter, Jennifer, and I participated in the ceremony awarding Dad the Masaryk diploma on October 28, 1992. Representing Dad and the entire family, I received the award from Prime Minister Ján Straský in the fourteenth-century Vladislav Hall on Prague's Castle Hill (Hradčany). It was the last national holiday for Czechoslovakia before the country became two

republics. We resided for a few days on the castle grounds and had our own key to the main building. Looking out of the windows to the courtyards below, I pictured my parents there in the castle when Mother accompanied Dad to Prague for meetings with President Masaryk and his foreign minister, Eduard Beneš, concerning issues pertinent to Subcarpathian Rus'.

One of the highlights of our stay in Prague was a viewing of the bronze bust of Dad which he thought had been destroyed. During a visit to that city one year before, Jennifer had left photocopies of the bust at many museums, and much to our amazement one later responded by letter that indeed they had the original. After a great deal of activity, arrangements were made for the bust to be brought from the archives to the Military Museum where we were given an opportunity to see it on display. Looking and touching the original was truly a moving experience for us. Dad looked so young to me "face to face," and very handsome.

From Prague we took an overnight train to Čop, on the border between Slovakia, Hungary, and Ukraine, and were driven from there to Užhorod, the former capital of Subcarpathian Rus' and now the administrative center of Transcarpathia. During the next three days we explored the city, especially the streets of the old town where my parents' residence was located in what was called the Governor's Palace. It is now an art museum and writers' guild. We entered the well-preserved building, now painted in yellow and white, and saw the wide concrete walls (four feet or more), the wooden parquet floors, and the tall ceramic tile heaters in the arched corners of the rooms. We were not sure, but one section on the second level seemed to have once been living quarters. An adjoining office may have been where Dad carried on his mission of trying to unite the various factions in Subcarpathian Rus' and where he received visitors and dignitaries. A display of colorful modern art was now hung on the walls for public display.

We also visited the thirteenth-century Užhorod castle overlooking the sweeping valleys below, at that time aglow with golden autumn foliage. One of the old wooden churches could be seen off in the distance with its tall towers and distinctive wooden slatted roofs. Mother had written in her letters to her sister Colette that they stayed in the Greek Catholic Seminary housed on the castle grounds until the palace residence was ready for them.

Next, we approached the hills of Calvary Cemetery to search for Joan's grave. Considering the extensive area to cover, it seemed impossible that we could locate it. We wandered around looking for a wrought iron enclosed area as shown in the photo which we carried with us. It was rainy and slippery that day, and we were unable to locate it. The following day was All Souls' Day and people came in great numbers bringing flowers, wreaths, candles, and brooms and shovels to fix up their loved ones' graves. There was solemn music coming from the loudspeakers. Our host, Oleg Yamalov, first asked the caretaker for a map, but there were no records. The man talked of an old section at the top of the hill, and we slowly made our way up to the crest, coming to an area that was overgrown and neglected.

Four of us started looking, and within a half hour, Oleg called out for us to come over. He had found a marble obelisk, completely covered with dirt, and was trying to clear the caked earth from the letters. Slowly the name emerged out of the past—Joanna Irma Žatkovič. It was a highly emotional moment and we all stood in disbelief. There was no wrought iron fence around the grave; it had decayed or was perhaps stolen. We pulled the stone upright and it



Jennifer and Connie Ash with award received in the name of Gregory I. Zatkovich in the Spanish Hall, Prague Castle, Czech Republic

was not broken.

We remembered another letter of Mother's written to her sister Colette after Joan's death on June 24, 1922, in which she wrote the following: "It was a touching sight to see all the peasants come to pay their respects with their little offerings, flowers, which they placed around her coffin. Forty priests led the way on foot singing, and at least a thousand people followed. The Rusyn choir sang up there. They said it was beautiful. She received lovely flowers. President Masaryk sent such a lovely cross and a sweet personal letter of condolence. Telegrams and letters poured in here for a week from all over the country. The people here, that is the Rusyn people, feel that our little girl is a link between them and Jerry's [Gregory I. Zatkovich's] future work for them, as they say it is their guarantee that he will not forget them. They call her their little patron in heaven." Mother was unable to go to the cemetery since she was also ill with scarlet fever. Dad had already resigned as governor by that time. Greg, Jr., was five when the family returned to the United States.

During our visit to Užhorod, Mayor Emil Landovský promised that the gravesite would be restored and cared for. Other kind people we met there, including Vasilij Sočka, of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns, and Tamara Hrytso, a teacher, said they would visit the grave. Mr. Sočka interviewed us at length about Dad, saying that there were few books and documents that still exist about Subcarpathian Rus' history. The hope is that some of these historic records that might have been hidden in private homes or buried will in time be recovered.

Three days was too short a time to explore Užhorod thoroughly. We were on a personal mission and it was a successful one. But we want to return to this beautiful area in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains with the River Už flowing through it. We observed so many contrasts with our own life. The majority of the people have great needs and lack sufficient food and energy, employment, and education. Things taken for granted by us in the United States—hot water, balanced meals—are absolute luxuries to most of the population.

We know that Dad would be very excited about the new independence and future possibilities in his homeland, but would be well aware of the struggle and real work ahead. God bless the Rusyn people.

Connie Zatkovich Ash
Corvallis, Oregon

VOICE OF CARPATHO-RUSYNS WORLDWIDE

Since the Revolution of 1989, several Rusyn-language newspapers and magazines have appeared in Europe. Nonetheless, the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* remains the only publication that discusses all aspects of past and present developments among Carpatho-Rusyns wherever they live. Aside from hundreds of individual subscribers, each issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* is read by thousands of readers who have access to the 55 libraries worldwide that receive our publication.

Is your local public, college, or university library on the following list? If not, bring in a copy and urge the librarian to order current and back issues.

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YUGOSLAV RUSYN YOUTH FUND

The first concrete results of our campaign for Rusyn youth in Yugoslavia have begun. In 1993, we collected \$1,700. Of these funds, \$1,500 were donated as planned to the Ruska Matka Society in Ruski Kerestur, Yugoslavia (Serbia). Those funds are being used: (1) to publish eight monthly issues of the children's journal *Zahradka*, that is, through the rest of 1994; and (2) to cover the printing costs for a new Rusyn grammar to be used in Rusyn language courses in schools where otherwise Serbian is the language of instruction.

The remaining \$200 will form the beginning of the campaign for the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund in 1994. Please be generous. A donation of \$50 or more will go a long way in helping our people in war-torn Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund
Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, Inc.
Box 131-B
Orwell, VT 05760

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

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REUNION IN A RUSYN VILLAGE— 67 YEARS LATER

As it happened to thousands of Carpatho-Rusyn families throughout East Central Europe in the twentieth century, so it happened to ours. Burdensome poverty, two world wars and the Iron Curtain would conspire to separate families and effectively isolate the closest of relatives for decades, making them virtual strangers to one another. My father, John Baycura, was born in 1886 in the Rusyn village of Vyšné Čabiny in northeastern Slovakia. He was the only son and the oldest of the six children of Andrew and Maria Kohutová Bajcurová. When he was growing up, Central Europe was in political, social, and economic turmoil. Rusyn men, desperate for work to help alleviate the crippling poverty in their native villages, were leaving for America in increasing numbers.

In 1903, both my grandfather and father headed for the United States to join relatives and fellow countrymen who had preceded them to the mines, mills, and factories of western Pennsylvania. After a short stint in the States, my grandfather returned to his family in Vyšné Čabiny to stay. Until 1922, my father returned for several extended “visits” to America, returning to his native village only briefly, once in 1907 to marry and again in 1922 to build a new church. Rather than work in the mills, he spent all of those years at work as a craftsman, carpenter, homebuilder, and contractor. At the same time, he established a reputation as a cabinet-maker, woodcarver, violin maker, artist, and decorator-gilder.

In 1915, my father made his first iconstasis. It was for his parish church in Lyndora, Pennsylvania, St. John the Baptist Uhro-Rusin Greek Catholic Church, established in 1913 by immigrants largely from the villages of Habura, Čabiny, Miková, and the city of Užhorod. By 1923, father had crafted four more iconostases for churches in Lyndora, Nesquehoning, Mingo Junction, and Sykesville, Pennsylvania.

In the interim, however, he signed a contract to tear down the old church in Vyšné Čabiny, damaged during World War I, and build a new one for the sum of 250,000 Czechoslovak crowns. He returned home and hired more than 70 villagers, both men and women, to work on the demolition and construction. The church was completed, approved by the engineers, and the bells installed in June of 1923. His contract fulfilled, father left for the United States for the fourth and last time.

In 1925, father arranged for his wife Maria, my brother John, my sister Mary, and me, Peter ages 17, 16, and 2, respectively to leave Vyšné Čabiny and join him in a new home he had constructed for the family in Lyndora. Mother died of pneumonia within a year after coming to Lyndora. Although my father continued faithfully to send money and correspond with his parents and his five sisters as long as he lived, he never set eyes on Čabiny or his parents and sisters again. Nor would my brother, my sister, or I ever see our aunts. When father died in 1965, I assumed responsibility for writing to the remaining aunts, and then to their families when the aunts were gone.

By the time he died, my father had achieved renown for his handcarved eastern-rite sanctuary architecture and furnishings. His output included eight complete iconostases and numerous individual pieces of architecture. His largest work was a full four-tiered iconostasis for St. John Chrysostom Greek Catholic Church in Pittsburgh, carved piece by piece in the kitchen of our family apartment in Lyndora. It appeared in the Rotogravure section of the Sunday Pittsburgh Press



Čabiny Church and Cemetery

in 1955. Fittingly, father crafted his first and last iconstases for his own parish church in Lyndora both for the original redbrick church built by Rusyn immigrants in 1913 and the present stone church erected in 1955.

When the revolutions of 1989 finally raised the Iron Curtain in Europe, father as well as all five of his sisters were long deceased. In America, only my 80-year-old sister and I were left. She became critically ill in 1990 and lingered on until early 1992. Faced with the realization that I might soon be the only one of Dad's family left, the notion of returning to Čabiny became a very compelling one. By the spring of 1992, my wife Janet, our daughter Dianne Onnen of Boise, Idaho, our son David Peter, a grandson Michael David of Atlanta, Georgia, and I were committed to going. We joined a two-week tour of Czechoslovakia and Transcarpathia, whose itinerary focused on Slovakia and the ethnographic Carpatho-Rusyn homeland. The schedule was designed so that with planning we were able to integrate visits with relatives in Partizanské, Čabiny, Humenné, and Prague.

On Sunday, June 21, a first cousin, Anna Kumičaková Hilčanský, her husband Gejza, and their son-in-law Dr. Vladimír Ferko, drove up to Prešov from Michalovce in two cars. They met us at Prešov Greek Catholic Cathedral of St. John the Baptist where our tour group was attending a Divine Liturgy. They became our hosts and provided transportation for our family until our return to Košice the next evening. That afternoon, after 67 years, long separated family relatives from Čabiny, Humenné, Michalovce, and the United States met for the first time in a poignant, joyously emotional, and unforgettable reunion in the ancestral village of Čabiny. We gathered at the family home where a first cousin, Maria Gulová Čaklová and her husband Josef, live in humble fashion.

A ritual of hearty embraces, excited questions, toasts, feasting, at times folk songs, and the tendering of mementos and gifts was observed in every relative's home we visited. We had our first hint of this several days earlier when we spent the day with Dana Doničová Dragulová, a second cousin, and her husband Josef. They have an apartment in the home of his parents in Partizanské, a town in far western Slovakia about halfway between Bratislava and Banská Bystrica. Dana and Josef, who were married a couple years ago, were expecting their first child early in July. (A son, Henrich, was born on July 14.)

Our tour of Slovakia, Vienna, Transcarpathia, and Prague was a treat for the eyes, the senses, and worthy of repeat visits. For me and my family, however, it was the Čabiny experience that was the most meaningful. The joy of close



Peter and Janet Baycura standing by his grandfather Andrew's Grave in Čabiny church cemetery

family relatives meeting for the first time in the ancestral family home and village, after so many decades of isolation, was overwhelming. It was a thrill to see our son David and our daughter Dianne meet their cross cousins, and our 16-year-old twin grandson, Michael David, meet his parallel, 16-year-old female, twin cousins Ariana and Jana Čičak from Humenné.

Everywhere we turned we saw reminders of our roots. I felt a profound sense of belonging. Around us were the places my father had spoke of so fondly: the Carpathian Mountains, the Laborec river and valley, the home, the village, and the church. We actually stood in the ancestral family home built by my father and grandfather in 1907. The date "1907" and a three-barred cross carved into a ceiling beam by my father when the house was built was clearly visible. We stood in the room in which I was born, with the hook from which my cradle hung still in place in the overhead beam. Up and down the street were the homes of my mother and my dad's sisters.

In the middle of the afternoon we rushed off to the village church to attend a memorial service (*panachida*) for my deceased parents. It was purposely scheduled for our visit by relatives and it took on a singular importance inasmuch as my father had built this handsome village church back in 1922-1923. After the service, we were proudly escorted to the vestibule to see the large marble plaque which was erected in 1966 and to read the line, "Holovnyj Stavbar I. Bajcura" (Principle Architect J. Baycura). We also spent time in the

cemetery at the rear of the church, stopping at the graves of my grandparents and my five aunts. In doing so, we noted the many graves bearing familiar family names of founders of our parish church, St. John the Baptist in Lyndora, such as Demjanovič, Gavula, Herman, Hussar, Moroz, Koropčak, Uram, and Zelinka.

Čabiny remains to this day a typical Rusyn village, remote but beautifully situated in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains. Originally, the village was divided into Nižné, Seredné, and Vyšné (Lower, Middle, and Upper) Čabiny. Today it is simply Čabiny, a village consisting of a single row of houses on either side of a two-lane macadam road in the northern reaches of the Laborec valley in northeastern Slovakia, not very far from the Polish border. And, like every Rusyn village no matter how poor, it has a handsome village church with a beautiful iconostasis inside.

The houses are square, stucco over stone or brick, single-story dwellings with sheet metal roofs. The small plots of ground on which they sit are rural and functional. On them might be found primitive outbuildings, a hay pile, a cow or two, chickens, a vegetable garden, fruit trees, and spectacular roses and other ornamental flowers. The scythe reigns supreme as a universal tool. We did not see a single lawn mower either in Slovakia or in Transcarpathia. Electricity is available in the village, but there is no common water supply or sewage system.

Čabiny seems relatively unchanged except that some houses now stand empty. The population, about a thousand in its prime, is today reduced to about 400, mostly pensioned older folk. Čabiny suffers the fate of all the remote Rusyn villages. The young, who want skills, an education, good jobs, a higher standard of living, and more options for sports and recreation, have forsaken the villages for the towns and cities. Hence, the villages remain frozen in time, projecting an aura of tradition, charm, and nostalgia that interests mainly the chronicler, the relative searching for roots, and the tourist.

We left Čabiny reluctantly. Our brief visit was over, even though there was still so much yet to savor. But that would have to await a future time. On our way to Michalovce, we made a stopover in Humenné for a ritual visit to the home of my first cousin, Anna Doničová Sedlaková, and her family. Then we continued on to Michalovce where we spent the night at the apartment of Dr. Vladimír Ferko, a radiologist, his wife, Tatiana, a teacher and their two sons, Vladimír and Ivan. We spent the next day viewing the landmarks of Michalovce, shopping, and visiting at the Hilčanský's home. We parted in tears, promising to return again soon.

On June 28, our tour reached Prague, our final destination. There, we briefly visited with my first cousin, Fedor Kumičak, JUDr. He has lived and worked in Prague all of his professional life and presently works for the Ministry of the Environment of the Czech Republic.

Our trip was finally over and we were on our way back to America. Thoughts of the homeland continued to stay with us even after we landed on this side of the Atlantic. Within a few weeks, I received a letter from my first cousin, Anna Sedlaková, who summed up best what we all felt: "For me, your visit seemed like an unbelievable dream. However, I have the feeling that there will be a visit again and that it will be somewhat longer."

Peter Baycura
Butler, Pennsylvania



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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



FROM THE EDITOR

This year has so far been incredibly exhilarating for Carpatho-Rusyns. The present issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* describes some of the people and events, both in the religious and secular worlds, which have attracted international attention to Rusyns. Two such instances merit special note. The canonization of Archpriest Alexis G. Toth by the Orthodox Church in America (OCA) and the establishment of the Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh. The affirmation of Toth's sainthood provided the opportunity for the OCA to acknowledge its largely Rusyn, rather than Russian, ethnic foundations—and it has done so. The numerous local and national publications covering the opening of the Pittsburgh museum have by and large succeeded in “canonizing” for the larger American public Warhol's Carpatho-Rusyn roots and their influence on his revolutionary creativity. And while Toth and Warhol themselves may seem worlds apart, there are significant parallels worth exploring.

Once Toth and Warhol determined the paths they were to take, they threw themselves into their tasks. These paths led them away from their original homelands. Toth left Europe for the unknown reaches of the New World and to Minnesota, in particular, and Warhol left his hometown Pittsburgh for the heady and competitive world of New York City. They moved yet further from their places of origin. Toth left the Greek Catholic Church, the denomination in which he had grown up and in which he had built a fine reputation and career. As an artist, Warhol also chose to strike out on a new path and became the leading figure in the development of American Pop Art, an art which speaks to the pains and promises of this century.

Both Toth and Warhol were leaders whose life and work has had an influence on hundreds of thousands of people. Moving along their chosen paths, they became figures of veneration. Toth spoke to the hearts of many and brought them, as he felt, closer to the proper expression of their spirit as Rusyns in the Christian faith. Warhol already had an enormous worldwide following in his lifetime, and through his art—exhibited especially in the Warhol Museum of Modern Art in Medzilaborce, Slovakia and in the new Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh—he will continue to speak to many, offering us all an opportunity to feel more acutely the pulse of our fast-paced modern age.

Toth and Warhol could not have achieved what they did without hard work. For Toth, this meant hours of study, difficult negotiations, exhausting travel, writing, interacting with parishioners, celebrating lengthy divine services. As for Warhol, the notion that he led a profligate life in New York has now been shown to be a false myth. He worked diligently perfecting his art, experimenting with new methods and media, producing prodigiously. He was neither a sex-driven hedonist nor a drug user. He was a steady worker (and observer of all forms of life), he attended church regularly, and he brought his aging mother to live with him in New York City where for twenty years he cared for her as a traditional Rusyn son ought to do. His well-known flamboyance and seeming love of show were divorced from his true personality and were simply a part of his professional career as a creator and propagator of modern art.

In their own ways, Toth and Warhol were influenced by their Rusyn ethnic heritage. Toth grew up in the European homeland, steeped in Rusyn culture, versed in Carpathian plainchant, icons, ecclesiastical traditions and customs. He was a genuine father to his Rusyn people. Warhol grew up in a Rusyn immigrant atmosphere, and at the same time he was a young American boy. His Rusyn legacy penetrated

his life in different ways. It is known, for instance, that he found his mother's *pysanky* artistically fascinating, beautiful, and judged them to be extraordinarily valuable.

Even more to the point, though, is the assessment that biographers and art critics make of some of Warhol's most famous work—those images of celebrities such as Marilyn Monroe and of other phenomena inextricably linked with American popular culture, such as Campbell Soup cans. These are “icons of popular culture,” they say, remarkably reminiscent of those “supercharged holy images, passive and stylized” which Warhol contemplated on the icon screen whenever he attended services at his home parish throughout his youth, St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Catholic Church in Pittsburgh's Rusyn Valley. Warhol's “icons” of twentieth-century celebrities are also infused with a high power. Is this enormously popular segment of his work a kind of twentieth-century Pop Art translation of an ancient and venerated Eastern Christian tradition?

Finally, in considering the points of contact between the figures of Alexis Toth and Andy Warhol, we might again turn to them as men who have drawn the attention of the world to Rusyns. One need only consult recent publications on the Toth canonization and the establishment of Pittsburgh's Warhol museum to see how accurately and informatively the subject of Carpatho-Rusyns is discussed. An article in the journal of the Orthodox Church in America's Diocese of Eastern Pennsylvania, *Alive in Christ*, refers to Toth's Carpatho-Rusyns as a people without a nation, a small Slavic people, almost “anonymous . . . against the wide tapestry of this land,” struggling to define their identity. In the same journal, the Reverend Sergei Glagolev stands in awe of Toth and his Rusyn people: “You may be non-Slavonic or purely an ‘American’ even as I am historically ‘Great Russian.’ But let me make this perfectly clear: neither the ‘Americans’ nor the ‘Great Russians’ have brought us into our present-day promise. Rather, it was this remarkable ‘little’ man of no report who led these remarkable ‘little’ peoples into a return to Orthodoxy that is the basis of our mission and ministry in the Americas into the next century. ‘Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.’”

The opening of Pittsburgh's Warhol Museum was also accompanied by numerous articles on Warhol, again, remarkably accurate in their rendering of his ethnic background. The longest piece was in the *Washington Post* (May 15, 1994). It describes Warhol's Rusyn origins, his life in Pittsburgh's Rusyn Valley, and stresses that he was Rusyn, not Russian, adding that Rusyns come from the Carpathian foothills and speak their own Slavic language. Writing in the *Washington Post*, Bob Colacello, friend and author of one of the most comprehensive biographies of the artist, notes that Warhol's people were “Ruthenians, Carpatho-Rusyns, Eastern Rite Catholics. They weren't even ‘Hunkies’ or ‘Polacks,’” Colacello insists. “Andy,” he says, “was an outsider among outsiders.”

Like Alexis Toth, a courageous priest ministering to his immigrant Rusyns in a land in which they were the proverbial outsiders, or “little” people, so too Andy Warhol, a son of Rusyn immigrants, spoke to the needs and creative imagination of his parents' adopted land. They represent two poles, the sacred and the secular, but they are also linked in subtle ways through roots that are deep in the fertile legacy of their people.

OUR FRONT COVER

St. Aleksander Nevskij Orthodox cathedral church in Prešov, 1949

MARIA GULOVICH LIU

On May 26, 1946, by special order of United States President Harry Truman, Maria Gulovich Liu became the first woman in American history to be honored for heroism by a Corp of Cadets in full dress parade at West Point Academy. Present to pin the Bronze Star medal on her shoulder was General William Donovan, Director of the Office of Strategic Services. Also there to commend her was General Maxwell Taylor and other dignitaries. A week later, Maria was the honored guest at the home of Eleanor Roosevelt, former First Lady of the United States.

Maria Gulovich was born in 1921 in Litmanová, a small Carpatho-Rusyn village in northeastern Slovakia. At the age of four, her family moved to Jakubiany where her father Edmund Gulovich, a Greek Catholic priest, was transferred. Like Litmanová, Jakubiany was typical of many Rusyn villages in that area of farming, wood cutting, and with no paved roads or electricity. The Reverend Gulovich was born in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and educated in the Greek Catholic secondary school (*gymnasium*) and theological seminary in Prešov as well as at the University of Budapest. After World War I, when Hungary was ruled briefly in 1919 by a Communist regime that persecuted the church, Gulovich tried to go to Austria. Denied entry to that country, he returned to Prešov which by then was part of the new state of Czechoslovakia. One year later he married Anastasia Zima and was assigned to the parish in Litmanová.

Anastasia Zima was the daughter of a Greek Catholic priest and, like her husband, was born in the Rusyn homeland of the pre-World War I Austro-Hungarian Empire. Anastasia was well educated, graduating from the Teacher's College in Užhorod in 1919. She never used her teaching skills, however, because of her early marriage and the subsequent birth of six daughters, of whom Maria was the eldest. Both Maria's parents were erudite. Her father knew ancient Greek and Latin, while her mother excelled in French and German. They encouraged Maria's natural talent for languages, and other than her native Rusyn the young girl eventually mastered six languages: Slovak, Czech, Hungarian, German, Russian, and English.

Maria was educated in elementary schools in Stará L'ubovňa and Jakubiany before enrolling in the Greek Catholic convent school for girls in Prešov. She also spent a year with an aunt in Vienna perfecting her German. Later, at the Rusyn Greek Catholic Teachers College in Prešov she studied Slovak, Russian, and German as second languages but favored history and creative arts. Despite this varied linguistic and cultural background, Rusyn was always the language spoken in the home, and the Gulovich family never acknowledged being other than Carpatho-Rusyns. After graduation from Teacher's College in 1940, she taught in an elementary school in the Rusyn village of Jarabina before being transferred to a school near Zvolen in western Slovakia.

From her father, Maria acquired a love of freedom and justice. It was a commitment to such values that led her to join the underground during the anti-Nazi Slovak Uprising of 1944. While still a teacher, she was recruited to be a courier for the Slovak underground and later by an American intelligence mission operating in Slovakia. At the time, Slovakia was an ally of Hitler's Germany. Maria saved the lives of four of the men and helped rescue Allied airmen downed in enemy territory. It was for those acts that she was honored after the war at West Point Academy with the Bronze Star.

But those honors do not in themselves tell us about the intense suffering Maria and her family endured because of



their courageous stance against political oppressors. She was wanted by both the German Gestapo and the Soviet secret police at the time she fled her homeland in 1945. Eluding both, and with the help of Allen Dulles, then head of the European branch of the Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the CIA), she was expatriated to the United States. Maria was not to see her family again until 1970.

During that quarter century of separation, her father, the supervisor of fourteen parishes besides his own, was imprisoned by the postwar Communist rulers of Czechoslovakia for refusing to permit his priests and parishes to be used as political tools and convert to Orthodoxy. He was sentenced to two years in a hard labor camp, and then exiled to Bohemia where he worked as a stoker in a furnace. Meanwhile, in the United States, Maria graduated from Vassar College in 1947 and went on to a career in advertising and educational films.

In 1951, she left her career to marry Eugene Peck, an attorney and war veteran. Three years later, the couple moved to California in an effort to alleviate by living in a warmer climate the severe after-effects of frostbite that Maria had suffered during her work with the wartime OSS mission. They had two children: Edmund, who operates his own satellite high-tech firm in Massachusetts; and Lynn, a veterinarian doing research in Florida. Five years after her divorce from Peck in 1976, Maria married Hans Liu.

Today Maria Gulovich Liu is employed as realtor and, as an avocation, works with an organization collecting books to be sent to Czechoslovakia. Sonya Jason, an American writer of Carpatho-Rusyn background, has just completed a book about Maria Gulovich's life. Entitled *The Crimson Rose: Heroine of the Dawes Mission*, the book is expected to be published next year.

Sonya Jason
Woodland Hills, California

POVERTY, DIVERSITY, AND CONFLICT: SOME REMARKS ON SUBCARPATHIAN JEWRY

The Hasidic Mukačevo Rabbi Chaim Eleazar Spira was clearly wearing his heart upon his sleeve when he called his Zionist opponent Chaim Kugel, the head of the Hebrew *gymnasium* of that city, “a rebellious son who forsakes the way of the Torah,” and vilified him later as a “traitor to one’s country.” For Rabbi Spira, Zionists were “heretics.” For their part, the Zionists called Spira power-hungry, corrupt, and incompetent. After World War I, the Jewish community of Subcarpathian Rus’ was more divided than ever before. The changes in the geographical, political, economic, cultural, and spiritual situation during the interwar years strained relations most especially between different communities within Subcarpathian Jewry, and to a lesser degree between Jews and Rusyns.

Jewish settlement in Subcarpathian Rus’ dates back to the fifteenth century, although it was during the eighteenth century that large numbers of Jews crossed the Carpathian mountains and settled in the northeastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, including Subcarpathian Rus’. Most of them originated from Galicia, where over-population, political unrest, and military conflicts made living conditions difficult. Civil war and revolts also caused material and human losses in Subcarpathian Rus’ until 1711, after which the region was able to absorb larger numbers of newcomers. According to the 1787 census 6,311 Jews inhabited the Hungarian counties of Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa, and Máramaros. In the first half of the nineteenth century immigration from Galicia took place on a massive scale. This was the result of the loss of traditional Jewish autonomy and extreme poverty. Continuing immigration and high birthrates led to an enormous population growth: in 1910 the Jewish communities of the above-mentioned four Hungarian counties contained 128,791 people.

The Jewish immigrants soon got used to their new surroundings—not in the least because the region was also populated by Rusyns, whose way of living was familiar to the Jews, since Rusyns also inhabited the southern parts of Galicia. Following the Austrian-Hungarian *Ausgleich* of 1867, Jews were afforded equal legal status to their Christian neighbors. Although this formal emancipation in the Habsburg monarchy eased the life of the Jews, they were denied the corporate status as a nationality. Instead, they were regarded as Hungarians of the Israelite faith.

The new influx of Galician Jews into Subcarpathian Rus’ caused a number of conflicts within Hungary’s Jewry. While emancipation in 1867 created new possibilities for economic advancement, it also contributed to a greater differentiation within the community. A sharp rift developed between rich and poor Jews, in particular in Subcarpathian Rus’. As among Rusyns, a portion of the new Jewish economic and intellectual elite in towns like Mukačevo, Užhorod, and Berehovo acculturated or assimilated with the dominant Hungarian nationality. These “elitist” Jews spoke Hungarian, took part in Hungarian culture, and many eventually moved to Hungary’s capital of Budapest. The pro-Hungarian Jews felt superior to the great masses of Subcarpathian Jews, who had no part in the process of economic and social advancement and stuck to their own Yiddish culture and language. At best these Jews survived on a subsistence level as workers in forestry and agriculture or as artisans and small shopkeepers. In many ways their economic status was like that of the masses of Rusyns. It was this form

of Rusyn-Jewish solidarity that led several authors to conclude that anti-Semitism never became deep-rooted in Subcarpathian Rus’ as it had in neighboring regions. While the Jewish and Rusyn communities had their own distinct cultures, at the same time there was extensive interaction and mutual influences.

The economic contrasts within the Jewish community of northeastern Hungary were sharpened by religious ones. The poor Subcarpathian Jewish masses were for the most part Orthodox or Hasidic, whereas the entrepreneurial and commercial elite came to be more reform-oriented and liberal. But even among the masses there were divisions. Serious conflict existed between the Orthodox rabbi-dominated *Mitnaggedim* and the *Hasidim*, while at the same time Hasidic rabbis and their followers fought each other for control and influence. They only united to withstand the enlightened ideas coming from the assimilated and acculturated Jewish middle and upper class.

The struggle within the Jewish community of Subcarpathian Rus’ did not subside after World War I, when the region became part of the new state of Czechoslovakia. In fact, many new conflicts made their way to the region. After twenty years of Czechoslovak rule (1919-1939), the old struggle between Orthodox Hasidic Judaism and Reform Judaism came to the fore again, at the very time when unity was most needed: in the face of Hungary’s steps towards the Holocaust.

The incorporation of Subcarpathian Rus’ in the new Czechoslovak Republic in 1919 created a new situation for Jews. According to the 1921 census, Subcarpathian Rus’ was inhabited by 93,341 Jews—15.4 percent of the total population of the province. In all, Czechoslovakia had 354,342 Jews, which meant that one of every four Czechoslovak Jews lived in Subcarpathian Rus’ (not “roughly half” as Abramson states in his very interesting essay on the Holocaust). By 1930, the absolute number had risen to 102,542, or 14.1 percent of the Subcarpathian population. How and where did these Jews live? The Prague Zionist weekly *Selbstwehr*, which devoted a lot of attention to the fate of the Subcarpathian Jews, outlined their situation as follows:

Of the 100,000 Jews in Subcarpathian Rus’, about 60,000 live in villages. While Jews in cities and provincial towns live in scantily furnished houses, the dwellings of the village Jews are in a miserable state and hardly differ from those of non-Jews. They are mostly made from wood, containing a front room (or entrance-hall) and a living room. The living room serves at the same time as a kitchen, bedroom, dining room, etc. A Jewish house in a village can be recognized by its windows, which are larger than those of other houses. In addition, Jewish houses are adjacent to each other. Characteristically, the center of every village is inhabited by Jews, while non-Jews live on the edge of the village. It is rare to find a solitary Jewish settlement. A Jewish family counts an average of 7 or 8 souls, but families with 10 to 12 members are not uncommon.

Although the majority of Jews lived in rural areas, the most important cities of Subcarpathian Rus’ also counted large Jewish communities (up to 48 percent). The 1921 census, which is elaborately discussed in *Selbstwehr*, also offers data concerning the professional structure of the Subcarpathian Jews:

Agriculture, forestry and fishery	26.9%
Artisan and manufacturing industry	23.6%
Business and finance	26.4%
Transport	3.9%
Public service and free professions	5.2%
Army	0.2%
Housekeeping, no (mention of) profession	13.7%

The census further differentiated social groups within Subcarpathian Jewry. About 70,000 were self-employed and about 18,000 were laborers. Looked at another way, 75 percent of all Subcarpathian Jews were dependent on the work of the remaining 25 percent.

Since about 26 percent of Jews lived from agriculture, Subcarpathian Rus' had the largest percentage of Jewish peasantry in all of Europe. In the 1920s, a small group of Jewish large landowners profited from Czechoslovakia's agricultural reforms, although the economic dislocations of the interwar period caused widespread hunger, especially in the mountainous areas. Conditions were a little better in the Subcarpathian cities and provincial towns. In Mukačevo and Slatina, the new rich could be found. Nonetheless, a great part of the self-employed Jewish artisans were unable to share in the opportunities offered by the improvements in municipal infrastructure. Small workshops were not in a position to compete with the mass-produced industrial products from the more developed Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia. Jews also had new economic rivals in a rising Rusyn middle class of shopkeepers and merchants, who were encouraged by the Czechoslovak authorities to form cooperatives. Another factor aggravated the situation: the improvement of the Subcarpathian school system created a new layer of educated Rusyns, who competed with the Jews for government and civil service positions. As a result of these developments, relations between Rusyns and Jews became more strained in the 1920s.

The world economic depression only worsened conditions, especially in the agricultural sphere. In 1932, *Selbstwehr* stated that "this winter tens of thousands of Jews in Ruthenia suffer from hunger," and although the masses of Rusyns shared their fate, a familiar scapegoat entered the scene. In 1935, a Jewish member of the Czechoslovak parliament from Subcarpathian Rus', Chaim Kugel, protested "against any attempt to blame the poverty of the Subcarpathian peasantry on the Jews."

Illustrative of the change of climate was an accusation in 1930 against two Jews, who were accused of wounding and bleeding Rusyn children for ritual purposes. The affair was widely covered in Czechoslovak press organs. It was not until January 1932, however, when the economic crisis was at its height, that the Zionist weekly, *Selbstwehr*, reported the rise of a real state of pogrom in the region of Velykyj Berezhnyj, where the Jews, according to the 1921 census, comprised only about 7 percent of the population. The existing social tension was in part related to rumors that Jews were trying to bribe the judges to cover up the affair. Nonetheless, the *Selbstwehr* did not report any lootings or physical attacks. In the end, the accused Jews were acquitted because of lack of evidence. Although other kinds of anti-Jewish denunciations were reported in the 1920s and 1930s, such as a widely reported blood-libel affair in 1924 and accusations of Jews exploiting Rusyn peasants by selling them alcohol at exorbitant prices, the conditions for Jews in Subcarpathian Rus' were in no way as difficult as in neighboring countries of eastern Europe like Hungary, where state-supported anti-Semitism seemed to be the norm.

In interwar Czechoslovakia, the rights of ethnic minorities were recognized by the state and each person could express openly his or her national affiliation. It soon became clear that Jewish national consciousness among the Orthodox and Hasidic Jews of Subcarpathian Rus' had firmly struck root. In the 1921 and 1930 censuses, 87 and 93 percent respectively of all Subcarpathian Jews considered themselves to be Jews by nationality. It was, therefore, the least assimilated, Yiddish-speaking group which formed the nucleus of nationally-conscious Jews within Czechoslovakia. The political party which propagated Jewish nationalism was, however, to become the source of bitter conflict in Czechoslovakia's most eastern province. These were the Zionists.

After World War I, Zionism formed a new challenge for Subcarpathian Jewry. Czechoslovakia's Jewish Party, founded in 1919 by Zionists from Prague, not only propagated the Jewish right of self-determination in Palestine, but also tried to represent the interests of all Jews throughout the new country. Initially, the party functioned more or less as an umbrella organization for all kinds of Jewish groups. But by the end of the 1920s the party came to be identified exclusively with Zionism. This process culminated in 1931, when the Jewish Party of Czechoslovakia (*Židovská strana Československa*) was officially established. In January 1932, the party's first district convention took place in Subcarpathian Rus'. The party was most adamantly opposed, however, by the Hasidic Rabbi of Mukačevo, Chaim Eleazar Spira. He abhorred any kind of secular influence on Subcarpathia's Jewry, in part because of religious conviction, and in part because it undermined his own position of authority in the region. In his resistance against the Jewish party, Rabbi Spira cooperated with the Czechoslovak Agrarian party and urged the Jews to vote for it. His efforts were in general not successful.

In the 1924 elections in Subcarpathian Rus', the Jews were unable to unite, and instead two parties competed with each other: the Zionist Jewish People's party and the Orthodox Jewish Democratic party headed by magyarized Jews. The Zionist party garnered more votes, but neither received enough for a seat in parliament. Even though the Jewish party succeeded in uniting all Jewish political forces in the country during the 1925 elections, it was not until 1929 that it finally obtained two seats in parliament. This achievement was repeated in 1935, when in combination with other parties, the Jews of Subcarpathian Rus' got two deputies elected to the Czechoslovak parliament, one of whom was Chaim Kugel.

It seems paradoxical that a Zionist Jewish party was able to gather so many votes in an otherwise Orthodox and Hasidic setting, as was Subcarpathian Rus'. According to Ezra Mendelsohn, the explanation in part was that many Orthodox Jews who were not "too friendly to secular Jewish nationalism, voted for the Jewish Party because they believed in the need for a strong Jewish political organization devoted to protecting general Jewish interests in the new state." In that sense, the Subcarpathian Jews supported something of a dual leadership: a secular-national leadership that represented them in parliament and a traditional religious leadership that dominated the local religious community. Nevertheless, Zionism did gain ground in Subcarpathian Rus', especially among the youth, and this was something Rabbi Spira found hard to bear.

With the recognition of the Jews as a national minority in Czechoslovakia, they were entitled to all kinds of state-

sponsored cultural facilities in regions where they formed more than 20 percent of the population. This was the case in several of Subcarpathia's cities. The Czechoslovak authorities did not always fulfill their constitutional obligations, a phenomenon all too familiar to the Rusyns, who were denied the autonomy promised to the province. Despite discontent with Czechoslovak rule among both Jews and Rusyns, this did not lead them into political cooperation. On the contrary, whereas the Rusyns distanced themselves more and more from the central authorities in Prague, the Jews tried to improve their situation by demonstrating even greater loyalty to the state. This divergence in political attitudes was deepened by educational developments.

The incorporation of Subcarpathian Rus' into the Czechoslovak Republic led to enormous improvements in the educational system. New public as well as Christian and Jewish parochial primary schools were set up which were freely accessible to every child. There were separate schools or classes in the Rusyn, Hungarian, and Czech languages. Children from magyarized Jewish families attended Hungarian schools. As for the majority of Subcarpathia's Jews, many at first sent their children to the Rusyn schools, especially because they were familiar with Rusyn language, customs, and habits. Before long, however, the central authorities in Prague tried to change this situation. The Czechoslovak government, dominated during the interwar years by the Agrarian party, set up many Czech schools in Subcarpathian Rus' not only for the children of Czech officials sent to the province, but also as a means to attract local Jews to support the state and the party. From the point of view of the state, this policy proved successful. By the 1930s, a large proportion of the increased number of Czech schools was attended by Jewish pupils. This development was not particularly appreciated by the Rusyn majority, nor for that matter by Subcarpathia's Zionists.

In the view of the Zionists, Subcarpathia's primary schools were characterized by too much Orthodoxy and too little modernism. In response, the Zionists set up their own

Hebrew primary and secondary school system, which was recognized but not financed by the state and thus dependent on private donations. Among the more famous institutions was the Hebrew *gymnasium* in Mukačevo, under the direction of Chaim Kugel and, not surprisingly, damned by Rabbi Spira. Nevertheless, Subcarpathian Rus' was the only region in Czechoslovakia where Hebrew schools could be found, and therefore the province became the most important breeding-ground for Zionism in Czechoslovakia. Thus, on the eve of World War II, the Jewish community of Subcarpathian Rus' was more heterogeneous than ever before, with divergent and convergent interests and loyalties resulting in a tangle of conflicts. However strong these conflicts were, they took place within a democratic political context.

The situation changed drastically after the international political crisis set in motion by the Munich Pact of September 1938. Less than two months later, on November 2, 1938, Subcarpathian Rus', which in the meantime was renamed Carpatho-Ukraine, lost 12 percent of its territory to Hungary. This included about 25,000 mostly urban magyarized Jews. Complete annexation of the remainder of the province came in March 1939. In Hungary, Subcarpathian Rus' was called simply Carpathia (Kárpátalja). Within this new political configuration, a number of anti-Jewish laws were passed that endangered the Subcarpathian Jewish community. Those laws were only the first stages of the Holocaust, carried out later by the Hungarian authorities.

After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the Final Solution was implemented. As a result, about 80 percent of Subcarpathian Jewry perished. The remaining 20 percent who survived the camps did not return to what after the war became the Transcarpathian oblast of the Soviet Ukraine. Instead, they tried to start a new life elsewhere, most especially in the United States and Israel, taking their memories with them.

Harm Ramkema
Utrecht, The Netherlands

HISTORICAL SOCIETY ESTABLISHING RUSYN DISPLAY

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is looking to the region's Carpatho-Rusyn community to help it develop a display on Carpatho-Rusyn American life in the early twentieth century. Working in conjunction with the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, the Historical Society is trying to amass information and items about Carpatho-Rusyn life in western Pennsylvania before World War I.

The Historical Society is in the process of renovating its newly acquired Pittsburgh Regional History Center in Pittsburgh's Strip District, traditionally a rich ethnic cultural and economic area. The Center will feature a core display outlining the history of western Pennsylvania and will open to the public in 1996. A part of that core display will be an immigrant courtyard patterned after the distinctive rowhouses of Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1910. One of the features of the immigrant courtyard will be the setting for the funeral of a young Carpatho-Rusyn immigrant, held at that time in the home.

"The display is three-dimensional and experiential," said Anizia Karmazyn, the Historical Society's curator working

on the development of the display. "We want to help people understand what life, and even the experience of death, was like for the immigrant community at that time."

To create the display, a wide variety of items is needed. Among those items the Historical Society is seeking are authentic icons, other religious artifacts, and everyday items Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants would have brought from Europe and placed in their homes. By providing such materials as furniture, candle holders, prayer books (especially Father Aleksander Duchnovyč's *Chlib Dušy*), and other items used by Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants, families can help add insight into the detail of turn-of-the-century immigrant life, particularly the preservation of ethnic culture in the new setting. "This is a unique opportunity for a family to share its past and ensure that its legacy will enrich the lives of future generations," said Karmazyn.

In addition, the Society is seeking to locate any old photographs of Carpatho-Rusyn funerals from around 1910 and any poems or letters Rusyn immigrants would have written about their experience in America. "It is important to note that if individuals have such items but don't want to give them up, we can borrow them to make duplicates or copies and return the originals to the owners," Karmazyn explained.

Finally, members of the Historical Society staff would like to conduct oral history interviews with Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants or their children who lived in Homestead in 1910 or thereafter, particularly those who lived in Homestead's Ward Two between McClure Street and City Farm Lane near the Carnegie Steel Company.

"We are pleased to assist the Historical Society in developing this display," said John Righetti, communications officer for the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center. "The display will help to demonstrate the significant role Carpatho-Rusyns played in the history of western Pennsylvania and in the

building of America. We hope the Carpatho-Rusyn community will come forward and support this effort by donating or loaning items and sharing their experiences."

If you have an item to donate or loan, or would be willing to share an oral history, particularly if your family came from the Zemplyn or Šaryš counties of former Austria-Hungary, or if you grew up in Homestead, please contact Anizia Karmazyn at the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania at (412) 281-2465 or John Righetti, Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center Communications Office, at (412) 625-9149.

CARPATHO-RUSYN CULTURAL SOCIETY FOUNDED

Overcoming religious differences which have long divided them, Carpatho-Rusyn Americans have founded a new cultural organization in Pittsburgh to serve the greater tri-state area and beyond. The Carpatho-Rusyn Society is a non-profit organization with the purpose of preserving and celebrating Carpatho-Rusyn culture. Its first meeting was held on Sunday, April 17, at the University of Pittsburgh and was attended by more than 85 people. Guest speaker for the event was Paul Robert Magocsi, president of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center and executive director of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Canada. Magocsi spoke about the state of Carpatho-Rusyn culture in Europe and America. Visiting dignitaries and cultural activists on hand for the initial meeting included Olena Duc-Fajfer, Lemko Rusyn poet and representative of the Lemko Rusyn cultural organization of Poland (Stovarysynja Lemkiv) and Lawrence Goga, president of the Rusin Association of Minnesota.

As stated by the chair of the society's planning group, John Righetti, the goal of the Carpatho-Rusyn Society (C-RS) is to create an organization that unites Carpatho-Rusyns culturally. "At the turn of the century almost one half of the entire Carpatho-Rusyn population immigrated to the United States for economic opportunity," Righetti notes. "The largest settlement is western Pennsylvania/eastern Ohio, where more than 100,000 people are of Carpatho-Rusyn heritage. More than 700,000 Americans are of Carpatho-Rusyn background. We have seen a growing interest on the part of Carpatho-Rusyn Americans in this area to pull resources together to manifest effectively our culture. All are welcome to join and participate with us in the celebration of our heritage. In fact, membership in the C-RS is not limited to those of Carpatho-Rusyn background, but is open to anyone who recognizes Carpatho-Rusyns as a distinct ethnic group and wishes to explore and enjoy the culture."

The society's planning group, comprised of young Carpatho-Rusyn Americans of varying religious and professional backgrounds, has been planning the organization for more than a year. In October 1993, an initial meeting was held among Carpatho-Rusyn cultural enthusiasts at the University of Pittsburgh to ascertain community interest. More than 40 people attended with an additional 20 expressing an interest in involvement. Individuals came from as far as Pennsylvania cities Butler, Windber, and Johnstown, as well as Cleveland, Ohio and Fairmont, West Virginia. Since the initial meeting, members have joined from Johnson City, New York, eastern Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., and the Carolinas.

The creation of the society was motivated by many Carpatho-Rusyns in this region who have made recent trips to the Carpathian Region of Eastern Europe since the fall

of Communism. "Many of us who have travelled to the homeland have marvelled at the fact that Carpatho-Rusyn organizations such as this one have developed all over Eastern Europe. Today active Carpatho-Rusyn cultural organizations with thousands of members exist in Slovakia, Transcarpathia, Poland, Hungary, and the former Yugoslavia," another founder observed. "Many of these groups now sponsor their own theater groups, performing ensembles, publications, and schools. This is a fantastic achievement, considering that the Carpatho-Rusyns do not have a politically independent state of their own. We have been inspired by their example and now we hope to become the Rusyn community organization devoted to fostering Rusyn cultural life at the grassroots level in America."

Meetings will be held every other month and a newsletter will be issued. The group will also participate in various cultural projects to assure the manifestation of Rusyn culture in America. The society already co-sponsored the Rusyn cultural display at the Pittsburgh Folk Festival on Memorial Day weekend this year. Along with the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, the Carpatho-Rusyn Society will take part in the establishment of a permanent Carpatho-Rusyn cultural display organized by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. (See **HISTORICAL SOCIETY** on page 6 in this issue.) The society is also studying the possibility of holding informational sessions on genealogy, offering classes to learn the Rusyn language, and organizing Rusyn educational and cultural trips to the European homeland.

For more information on the Carpatho-Rusyn Society or to secure a membership form, contact Richard Custer at (412) 682-2869 or John Righetti at (412) 625-9149. Or write to the Carpatho-Rusyn Society, 125 Westland Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217.

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (ISSN 0749-9213) is a quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center Inc., a non-profit cultural organization whose purpose is to promote knowledge about all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture through the publication and distribution of scholarly and educational material about the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in Europe and America.

General inquiries concerning the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, and all communications concerning this publication, should be directed to:

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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN SAINT CANONIZED

The following reports on the canonization of St. Alexis were submitted by two correspondents for the C-RA. The first is by Nicholas Ressetar, who describes the ceremony itself, and the second is by Richard Custer, who helped set up and staff an educational and cultural display on Carpatho-Rusyns at the pilgrimage to the monastery where the canonization took place. — Editor

A native son of the Prešov Region, the Reverend Alexis G. Toth (1853-1909), was canonized a saint by the Orthodox Church in America in ceremonies held on May 27-30, 1994, at the Orthodox Monastery of St. Tikhon of Zadonsk in South Canaan, Pennsylvania. On a glorious sunny and breezy Sunday afternoon, the outdoor vigil service commenced in front of the monastery bell tower following the procession from the main church in which the wooden casket carrying the remains of the new saint was borne. Metropolitan Theodosius of the Orthodox Church in America opened the service by reading the official proclamation of sainthood in which Father Toth's accomplishments were recited.

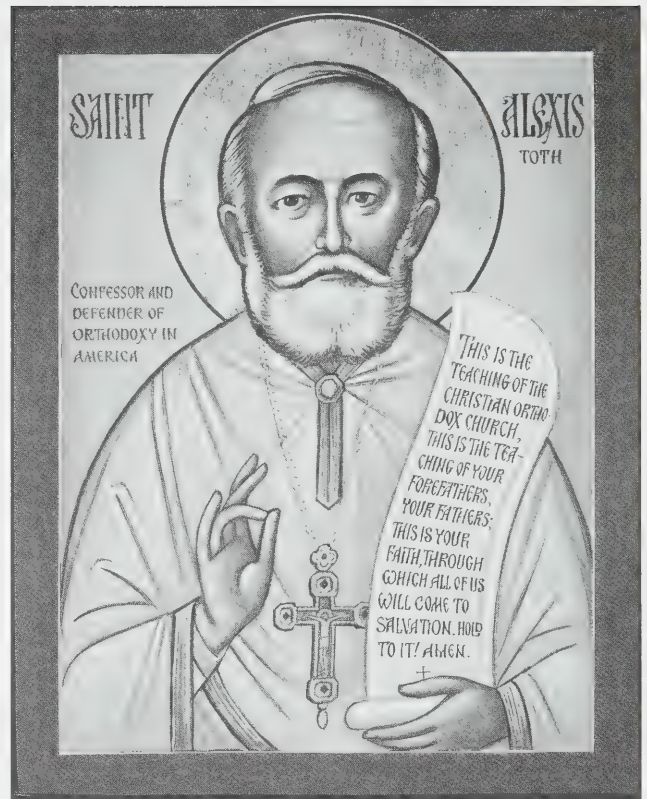
Among the bishops participating were Archbishop Nicholas of Prešov, Slovakia, who brought a newly written icon of St. Alexis, and Bishop Nicholas of the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocese of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The congregation of approximately 1500 included Carpatho-Rusyn American parishioners from the saint's two American parishes, St. Mary's in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Holy Resurrection in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. The new saint will be known formally as St. Alexis of Wilkes-Barre, Confessor and Defender of Orthodoxy in America.

For nearly three hours, hymns, songs, and verses honoring Father Toth were both sung and chanted by the male choir. There is no special canonization service in the Orthodox Church. Instead, a festive vigil and a Divine Liturgy are celebrated in which the new saint's *troparion* and *kondakion* (special hymns relating to the saint or the feastday) and other songs are used for the first time. This public confession recognizing an individual's sainthood is, in itself, the canonization or glorification.

The liturgical highlight of the vigil was the procession around the monastery church with Father Toth's body, borne by his fellow priests on their shoulders, followed by the faithful. At each of the church's four corners, special prayers were read. After being returned to the bell tower, the casket was opened and a small wooden reliquary, handcarved and decorated in traditional Carpatho-Rusyn style, was removed. The assembly venerated St. Alexis' relics and was anointed with blessed oil.

Early the next morning, Memorial Day, some 10,000 pilgrims gathered for the annual monastery pilgrimage. Father Alexis' coffin was carried out of the main church by the ten bishops participating and was accompanied by over forty priests. Singing the Paschal *troparion*, the procession wound its way through the monastery grounds to the pavilion where the Divine Liturgy was celebrated. A sixty-voice mixed choir and a twenty-voice male choir led the congregation in singing the responses and hymns, several sung according to the melodies of Carpathian plainchant. The casket was placed in the midst of the church surrounded by the clergy and people.

At the Small Entrance—the point during which the Gospels are carried into the altar through the Royal Doors to the accompaniment of the Beatitudes—verses in St. Alexis'



Icon of the newly canonized St. Alexis

honor were sung. At the same time, his wooden coffin was once more lifted up and carried into the altar, around the holy table, and placed before the icon screen where it remained, open, for the duration of the service. Metropolitan Theodosius' sermon pointed to Father Alexis' life as a supreme example of Christian devotion. The congregation together then sang the *troparion* for St. Alexis in Carpathian plainchant, Tone 4:

O righteous Father Alexis,
Our heavenly intercessor and teacher,
Divine adornment of the Church of Christ!
Entreat the Master of All
To strengthen the Orthodox Faith in America,
To grant peace to the world
And to our souls great mercy.

Nicholas Ressetar
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

During the weekend of May 27-30, 1994, the Orthodox Church in America continued to commemorate the bicentennial of Orthodoxy in America as it celebrated the sainthood of the Archpriest Alexis Toth. The canonization took place during the 90th Annual Pilgrimage to the Orthodox Monastery of St. Tikhon in South Canaan, Pennsylvania. The accent on the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage of St. Alexis was enhanced by the presence of representatives of the Carpatho-Rusyn Society based in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who sponsored an educational display about the Carpatho-Rusyn cultural and spiritual heritage of St. Alexis and the Carpatho-Rusyn people.

That so many faithful in the Orthodox Church in America still consider themselves Russian, albeit "Low Russian," may be beginning to change. Dozens of pilgrims at the

monastery were attracted by the images that our display presented—the Lemko-style churches, brightly colored *pysanky*, photographs of traditional Rusyn folk weddings. They acknowledge that these, rather than Russian items, are the elements of their own ethnic culture. The photo of one particular Lemko wedding play celebrated years ago by parishioners of St. Michael's Church in Old Forge, Pennsylvania, which had all the participants' names listed at the bottom, attracted special attention. So many people, either from Old Forge or with roots there, viewed this photo and recognized parents and other family members. And it was not the senior citizens, but the middle-aged and younger generations who came flocking to the display to view the photos and for information on Father Alexis' ethnic identity.

Many converts to Orthodoxy who had never heard of Carpatho-Rusyns were quite surprised to know that a majority of the pilgrims present at the monastery were of Carpatho-Rusyn heritage. Others asked clarification on the differences between Russians and Carpatho-Rusyns, and appreciated the map provided which showed the location of the Rusyn homeland today. Yet others knew they were of Rusyn background and were thrilled to find out about the new Carpatho-Rusyn Society. Our display table stayed constantly busy with excited conversations throughout the pilgrimage as people came by to explore and discover their ethnic identity. How fitting this was! Father Alexis was proud of his Carpatho-Rusyn heritage and we hope he would have been proud of us as well.

Richard Custer
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania



Procession with the relics of St. Alexis at
St. Tikhon's Monastery, South Canaan, Pennsylvania

ANDY WARHOL MUSEUM OPENS IN PITTSBURGH

The weekend of May 13-15, 1994, witnessed the grand opening of the new Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh. The events began with a \$300-a-plate black-tie dinner and reception on May 13, followed by a \$125-a-plate informal reception and buffet on May 14. On Sunday, May 15, the museum held a family street fair celebrating Warhol's Pittsburgh roots and Carpatho-Rusyn heritage. The Slavjane Rusyn Folk Ensemble of McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, performed Rusyn dances at the event, and tours were conducted of important locations in Warhol's life, including the Rusyn Valley section of Pittsburgh and its St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Catholic Church where Warhol was baptized.

Pittsburgh organizations and media gave due recognition to Warhol's Carpatho-Rusyn heritage during the events. Both Pittsburgh Sunday papers, the *Post Gazette* and *Tribune Review*, as well as national and international publications, ran articles about Warhol which identified him as a Carpatho-Rusyn American and addressed the role his heritage played in his art. Slippery Rock University in Butler County, Pennsylvania, placed full page ads in Pittsburgh's city magazine and daily business paper talking about Warhol's Rusyn heritage and the Warhol family's support of arts exchange programs with students from Slovakia. Even Pittsburgh's leading television station, KDKA-TV, covered the family street fair and declared that the Slavjane Carpatho-Rusyn Ensemble was there in celebration of Warhol's ethnic background. An impressive plaque in the museum's entrance also clearly describes Warhol's Rusyn roots and

discusses his Eastern Christian and Carpatho-Rusyn heritage as having an influence on his art.

The museum building, which consists of seven floors of art and artifacts from Warhol's vast collection, is a renovated and expanded industrial structure reminiscent of Warhol's own famous Manhattan art studio, the Factory. The collection includes about 900 paintings, 77 sculptures and collaborative works, 1500 drawings, more than 500 published and unique prints, over 400 black-and-white photographs, and Warhol's own photographs. All the material has been contributed to the museum by The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc., and the Dia Center for the Arts.

Each floor presents a particular theme or period in Warhol's life and work. The entire third floor of the museum for instance, is devoted to a display of his pre-New York life. Materials here include memorabilia of all sorts, among which are his baptismal certificate and photographs of his Rusyn relatives in Europe. All of this is part of an Archives Study Center on Warhol's life, background, and art. Included in the archival center are Warhol's working and source materials—photographs, newspapers, and magazines; 608 "time capsules" which are dated collections of materials from Warhol's daily life; the complete issues of Warhol's *Interview* magazine; videotapes, audiotapes, diaries, and correspondence. The museum also houses a film theater and a studio where art classes are offered to young people.

The Andy Warhol Museum is located at 117 Sandusky Street on the North Side of Pittsburgh, a short walk across the 7th Street Bridge from downtown Pittsburgh. For information call (412) 237-8300.

AN INTERVIEW WITH ARCHBISHOP NICHOLAS OF PREŠOV

Archbishop Nicholas Kocur of the Prešov Orthodox Diocese in Slovakia recently was in the United States for the canonization of the Reverend Alexis Toth, a native son of the Prešov Region. He travelled with the Reverend Imrich Belejanič, a member of the faculty at the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Prešov. Both Archbishop Nicholas and Father Belejanič were thrilled about being in America and having the opportunity to witness the canonization of Toth, who made possible not only the return to Orthodoxy by so many Carpatho-Rusyns in America, but who initiated that same movement in the Carpathian homeland.

As for the situation of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches in Slovakia, according to both men, there are still serious issues to be resolved. "We have basically given the church buildings to the Greek Catholics where they have been requested," explained the archbishop. "But not all have been returned. In those villages where 98% or more of the population is Orthodox, the churches have remained Orthodox. This accounts for 18 parishes." The government, however, has a "98% rule." In some villages where there is a small Greek Catholic population, perhaps 5-10%, the Orthodox church building must still be given over to the Greek Catholic population, even though 90% or more of the population is Orthodox, according to the archbishop.

"In some villages," he notes, "we have been told to turn the church over, and we ask 'over to whom?' The Greek Catholic population is so small there. In other villages the churches have been closed entirely because there were too few Greek Catholics to use them. We have spoken to the Greek Catholic hierarchy and asked if we could buy these churches from them so that our people still have somewhere to worship and meet, but we have been told that that would be impossible. We were instructed that we should speak with the Roman Catholic Church authorities concerning this and so we took up the issue with a cardinal visiting Prešov, but he also indicated that this would be out of the question."

Recently, the Greek Catholic Church has asked that the Orthodox now turn over 23 rectories as well. Archbishop Nicholas explained that the Orthodox Church will do this as long as housing for the Orthodox priest is found within the same village so that his parish's needs can still be met.

The Orthodox Church is responding to the situation, according to Father Belejanič, by building new churches in the Rusyn villages where they are needed. Last year 11 new churches were constructed and another 42 are under construction currently. The Church also plans to build its own rectories in the future. "This is a difficult process for our people," Father Belejanič added. "There is very little money, so the people build the churches themselves."

In some areas, however, other tensions still exist. There are some villages where the majority Greek Catholic population protests the building of an Orthodox church for the minority Orthodox faithful. Sometimes, Father Belejanič notes, "the protests receive local government support. In the village of Telgart for three years we have sought but cannot get permission to build a new church. The local officials said to us that before the 1950s all Orthodox were Greek Catholics, and that we should just all go back to the Greek Catholic Church." This attitude has been the subject of talks between Archbishop Nicholas and Greek Catholic Bishop Jan Hirka. Archbishop Nicholas says that he has asked Bishop Hirka to explain the full religious history of the Rusyn people to his followers, including the Rusyns' religious roots

in the Orthodox faith before the seventeenth century. "But," adds the archbishop, "Bishop Hirka told me that he cannot go against his faithful."

Although the Czech Republic and Slovakia have split into two nations, the Orthodox Church in both has remained united. Two eparchies exist in the Czech Republic, with 30,000 faithful. The other two eparchies are in eastern Slovakia—Prešov and Michalovce. Together these last two have 89 parishes, mainly in the Rusyn villages of northeastern Slovakia. "The Orthodox Church is actually growing there," said the archbishop, "thanks to an increasing immigration of people from Rusyn Transcarpathia and the Chernobyl' region in Ukraine—people coming to Slovakia for better economic opportunities and a better life." Because of this immigration and previous ones, the membership of the Orthodox Church in Slovakia comes from a variety of ethnic groups—Rusyns, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Russians. Father Belejanič pointed out, however, that the majority of Orthodox in Slovakia are definitely Rusyns.

The Orthodox Church faces numerous challenges due largely to the economics of the newly independent yet unstable Slovakia. "We already have our third government since independence," said Father Belejanič. "The shift to a free market economy has caused many of our people to lose their jobs. This is a bigger problem in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic since our economy [under the Communist regime] was based on the manufacture of military goods and equipment." Because the people have little, it is even more difficult for the Church to progress in pursuing its life and work. "We need to teach our people more about the faith, but first we must have places in which to teach them. Therefore, we must build our churches." In addition, the Orthodox Church is trying to build an orphanage for children in Medzilaborce.

One of the bright spots for the Orthodox church in Slovakia is its Theological Seminary in Prešov. The seminary is now part of Šafárik University. This allows for some government support of it as an educational institution. It also means that anyone can attend its lectures and classes, including non-Orthodox students. "We presently have four Greek Catholic students," explained Father Belejanič. "They have come to learn for themselves. They do not believe that Orthodoxy is a 'Communist' church."

The seminary currently has 130 students, some in the four-year program to become religious education teachers, others in the five-year program for the priesthood. "We sponsor noted scholars from outside to teach our students," explained Father Belejanič. "We have had the dean of the seminary in Thessalonika, Greece, and during this trip to America, the archbishop has invited the Reverend Thomas Hopko of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in Crestwood, New York, to come and lecture."

The hope of the Orthodox Church's future work is found in its ever increasing role in the newly independent society. It is a role which Slovakia is asking all of its churches to assume. "The government wants the churches to restore society after years of Communism," said Archbishop Nicholas. "We have told the state that we want to do this, but they must help us financially so that we can do the work." And while the work is great, perhaps while visiting America Archbishop Nicholas and his group noted that a great deal can be done with little. The newly canonized Alexis Toth, after all, was just one man.

John J. Righetti
Mars, Pennsylvania

SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1989

Užhorod, Ukraine. On February 7, 1994, following instructions from Ukraine's General Prosecutor in Kiev, the prosecutor's office in Transcarpathia has forbidden the further activity of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns. The reason given is that the society is not a legally registered organization. Although it was registered in 1990, the Ukrainian authorities recently required all organizations on its territory to re-register. The society's request for re-registration was rejected, according to the Transcarpathian prosecutor's office, because "Rusyn is not a separate nationality," and therefore it is "not possible to register a Rusyn national-cultural organization."

Such action seems to be in direct violation of two principles adopted in 1990 by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), of which Ukraine is a signatory: (1) that "to belong to a nationality is a matter of a person's individual choice and no disadvantage may arise from the exercise of such a choice"; and (2) that "persons belonging to national minorities can exercise and enjoy their rights individually as well as in community with other members of their group."

As a result of the Ukrainian government's decision, the Society of Carpatho-Rusyn's newspaper, *Podkarpats'ka Rus'*, was suspended in late February. It resumed publication one month later under the same name, although under registra-

tion of an individual and with a new masthead statement that reads simply: "a newspaper for Rusyns."

Mukačevo, Ukraine. On March 24, 1994, the Aleksander Duchnovyč Society (Obščestvo im. Aleksandra Duchnovyča) was re-established in Transcarpathia. It had first come into being in 1924, but was abolished by the Soviet authorities when they took over Subcarpathian Rus' in 1944-1945. The Duchnovyč Society was in the past, and is to be again in the future, concerned primarily with cultural activity. At the March 24 founding meeting were representatives from branches in Svaljava, Mukačevo, and Užhorod, and it is expected there will be—as during the interwar period—several other new branches throughout Transcarpathia. The writer Vasyl' Sočka-Boržavyn spoke to the meeting about the historical record of the original society from 1924 to 1944.

Budapest, Hungary. On April 28, 1994, a new Rusyn-language publication, *Rusynskŷj žŷvot* (Rusyn Life), made its debut. This is the first time since 1918 that a Rusyn newspaper or journal has appeared within the borders of present-day Hungary.

Rusynskŷj žŷvot hopes to appear once or twice monthly, is published by the Organization of Rusyns in Hungary, and is edited by its chairperson, the poet Gabriel Hattinger. The first issue includes articles in Rusyn and Hungarian. Address all material and subscription requests to: ORRUMA, Nagymező u.49. fszt 4, 1065 Budapest, Hungary.

RECENT EVENTS

L'viv, Ukraine. On December 6-7, 1993, the Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society held an international conference in commemoration of its 100th anniversary. The society was active in promoting the Ukrainian national orientation in Galicia, Subcarpathian Rus', and the Lemko Region until its dissolution by Soviet authorities after World War II. Several speakers discussed the work of the Prosvita Society in the Lemko Region, including Ivan Krasovs'kyj (L'viv), Hanna Horyn' (L'viv), and Marija Vavryčyn (L'viv). Mykola Mušynka (Prešov) and Pavlo Fedaka (Užhorod) described the Prosvita Society in interwar Subcarpathian Rus', and Mykola Cap (Novi Sad) addressed its relations with the Rusyns of Yugoslavia.

Osaka, Japan. The Japanese journal, *Jidaijin*, published in its February 17, 1994 issue (No. 37) an interview with Bohdan Horbal and Susyn Yvonne Mihalasky on the Rusyn minority question in Europe. Horbal, a master's degree candidate at the University of Wrocław in Poland, is presently doing research in New York City on the Rusyn-American press; Mihalasky is completing her doctoral thesis on the post-World War II deportation of Lemkos in Poland at the University of Toronto.

In recent years, various circles in Japan have shown an interest in Carpatho-Rusyns. The Sapporo Peace Foundation in Tokyo is presently funding the New York-based Institute of East West Studies Euro-Carpathian Region Project; and in 1988 a Japanese translation of Petr Bogatyrev's 1929 study of Rusyn folklore and beliefs was published in Tokyo.

New York, New York. On February 24, 1994, the Slavic

and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library presented a staff seminar on the collections of the Heritage Institute of the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic. Speakers included the Very Reverend Raymond Misulich (Diocese of Passaic), Professor Richard Renoff (Nassau County Community College), Bohdan Horbal, and Edward Kasinec (New York Public Library). The seminar acknowledged, in particular, the ongoing work of the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic, which since 1980 has helped to preserve on microfilm for public use rare and current Rusyn-American newspapers and other printed materials.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. On April 6, 1994, Professor Paul Robert Magocsi (University of Toronto) delivered a lecture at the University of Pittsburgh Center for Russian and East European Studies entitled, "The Birth of a New Nation or the Return of an Old Problem: The Rusyns of East Central Europe," and a second lecture at the Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Seminary of SS Cyril and Methodius on the topic, "Religion and Identity in the Carpathians."

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. On April 7, 1994, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, Inc. held the annual meeting of its Advisory Board at the Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh. Participants reviewed the work of the center during the past three years, in particular the increase in the number of its publications and its contacts with all parts of the Rusyn homeland in Europe. Among the observers at Advisory Board were: Peter Bajcura (Butler, Pennsylvania), Richard Custer (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Olena Duc'-Fajfer (Cracow, Poland), Bogdan Horbal (New York City), Robert Karłowicz (Pratt Institute), Susyn Mihalasky (Clifton, New Jersey), and John Rzyk (Yonkers, New York).



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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



In this year's *Carpatho-Rusyn American* we have been presenting a series of articles on the topic of Jews in Subcarpathian Rus' as seen through the eyes of various authors. In our spring issue (*C-RA*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1994), Susan Slyomovics spoke of a personal odyssey to her family's homeland in the former Hungarian Kingdom's county of Máramaros in Subcarpathian Rus'. She discussed the preservation of Subcarpathian Jewry's memory in the form of the Máramoros House synagogue in Tel Aviv, in the memorializing activities of Jewish immigrants in New York and Tel Aviv, and in the intriguing tales of the miracle-working rabbi of Máramaros, Rebbele Mordkhele of Buštino. Harm Ramkema of the Netherlands then provided historical information on the Jewish population of Subcarpathian Rus' and introduced us to some of the complexities of Jewish politics in the region before World War II (*C-RA*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1994), specifically the relationship between the Zionist Jewish People's party and the Orthodox Jewish Democratic party.

In the present issue, Henry Abramson, a Canadian of Jewish background, offers an interpretive essay on Jews in Subcarpathian Rus' and the Holocaust. Drawing on a number of recently-published studies, he discusses several issues related to Jews in the Carpathians. He explores, for instance, the nature and function of the "memorial books," or *Yizker-bikher* created by emigrants and Holocaust survivors in an effort to preserve the past, and most importantly, to mourn the tragedy of the Holocaust and honor the deceased members of the Jewish community. He then concentrates on the demographics of Subcarpathian Jewry in the years just before World War II. Finally, he raises the question of Rusyn collaboration and the degree to which they supposedly cooperated in handing over Jews to the Hungarian authorities during the deportation of Jews from Carpatho-Rusyn areas in the spring of 1944.

The question of collaboration, voluntary or forced, is a difficult one throughout Europe. It has been an especially painful problem with regard to Vichy France, Italy, and several East European countries such as Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine. Among all of these, however, Subcarpathian Rus' has traditionally been singled out as an exception, particularly in Eastern Europe. As Abramson and other researchers note, no pogroms ever took place there. Moreover, memoirs and historical studies provide much evidence that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Rusyn-Jewish relations were peaceful and harmonious. While Jews owned some of the small businesses in the region, they also worked the land in large numbers just like their Rusyn neighbors. In that regard, nature did not differentiate between Jewish and non-Jewish farmers. Good harvests for some meant good harvests for all, and in a bad season everyone went hungry. I recall, for example, that my maternal grandmother, who emigrated from the Prešov Region on the threshold of World War I, had only a high regard and admiration for her Jewish neighbors. For instance, popular belief in her village insisted that if one dreamt about a Jewish neighbor, that meant good fortune was on the way. Her positive attitude seems to have reflected precisely this

historically-attested positive and symbiotic relationship between the two peoples.

The European world my grandparents left behind changed considerably, however, before and during World War II. That war undermined relationships of trust, shattered families and friendships, and irrevocably overturned the ordinary dynamic of daily life. Nazi ideology categorized the peoples of Europe according to what they believed were definable racial characteristics. Germanic peoples, most especially Scandinavians, were considered Aryans, the most acceptable racial ideal. The Slavs, on the other hand, were categorized as *Untermenschen* or "subhumans." They were at best intended for hard labor to fulfill the needs of the "master" Aryan races. Gypsies and Jews, as "antihumans," were singled out for physical annihilation. Regardless of status, representatives of all these peoples were drawn into and destroyed by the Nazi murder machine. Whether forcibly removed from their homes, physically abused and murdered, or forever psychologically traumatized, all were victimized. In the terrifying uncertainty of the time, there were no doubt moments of both courage and cowardice on the part of all the victims. Yet, for the vast majority the concepts "courageous" and "cowardly" lose their meaning in the face of Nazi terror and destruction. In studying issues of the Nazi occupation in relation to specific groups of occupied peoples, we must decide whether it is productive to repeat the pattern of "categorizing" the victims and survivors, in this case, as courageous or cowardly in their response to the aggressor.

The issue here of collaboration specifically on the part of Rusyns, however, is not resolved. Some Jewish writers say there was no collaboration; others suspect that the persecution stories of "anguished survivors" may contain legitimate tales of actual collaboration. Abramson suggests that because charges of betrayal are made by "anguished" survivors in the memorial books and elsewhere, they must be analyzed with great care. This is because there is an ever-present danger that the perceptions wrought by the agony of the moment are believed by others as accurate assessments of the events. At the same time, there exist reports of active protection and aid extended by Rusyns to Jews. These also must be studied. Presently, there are no scholarly studies of these issues. In light of this absence, Abramson notes, a "true and complete picture of how Rusyns reacted to the murder of their longstanding Jewish neighbors awaits its description."

With the opening up of Eastern European historical archives on World War II, especially regarding the sensitive areas of collaboration and resistance, Subcarpathian Rus' will also be studied. In Tel Aviv, for instance, there is a Society of Jews from Máramaros which has recently collected funds in order to establish a research program at the University of Tel Aviv on Subcarpathian Jewry. This program will scrutinize the relationships among Jews, Rusyns, and other groups who lived in this multiethnic area before and during the war. Researchers in the program have already contacted the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center in order to cooperate with them in their research. It is hoped that the Tel Aviv program, as well as others that might follow elsewhere, will be able to provide an accurate and meaningful historical depiction of the life of Subcarpathian Jews and their neighbors.

JOHN SLIVKA (1899-1986)

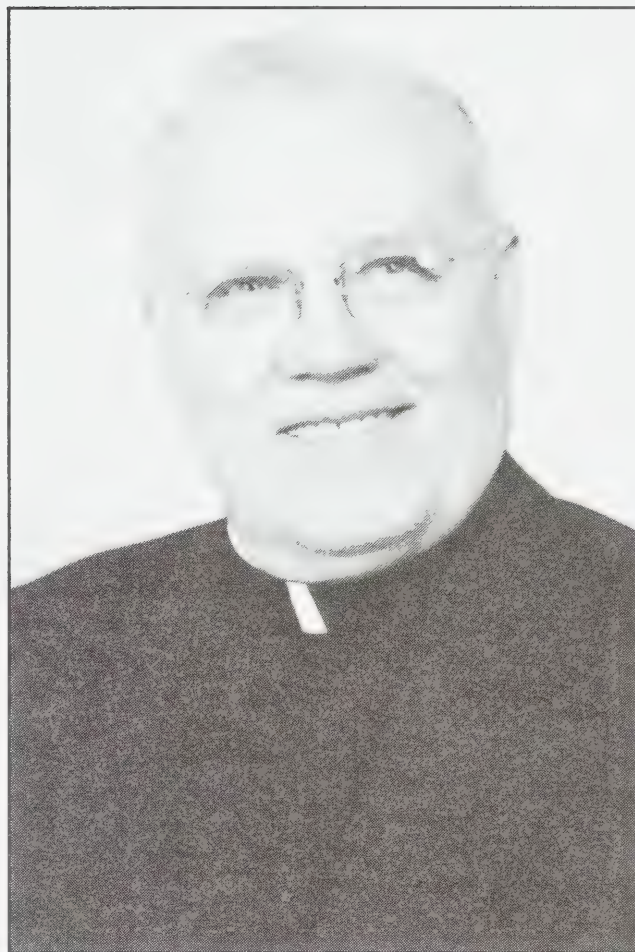
Throughout his priestly ministry and scholarly career, Father John Slivka faithfully and steadfastly adhered to the same ethnic and religious identifications with which he had grown up. During the first decade of his life, many Carpatho-Rusyns in America were becoming Orthodox "Russians," due to the proselytization of Father Alexis Toth. The further erosion of a Rusyn identification was encouraged by the *Amerikansky russky viestnik*, the influential organ of the Greek Catholic Union whose editors and leading writers were Russophiles promoting a Russian identification. Also, the leaders of the new Orthodox diocese (established in 1938 under Bishop Orestes Chornock) rejected Moscow and Rome and called themselves Carpatho-Russians. Father Slivka, however, was always a Rusyn. He also opposed confusion over ecclesiastical terms; for example, he rejected *Byzantine* and clung to the term preferred by most immigrants, *Greek Catholic*.

John Slivka was born in Jessup, Pennsylvania, in 1899. His parents, John and Susan (Sokol), were from Carpatho-Rusyn villages in the Hungarian counties of Zemplín and Šariš (present-day Slovakia) and immigrated to the anthracite region. While various Slavic and other ethnic groups in the Scranton area lived near each other, each maintained its own customary rituals. Jessup's Rusyns travelled to Olyphant and Scranton for Greek Catholic liturgies or worshiped in local Latin-rite churches. Rusyn ethnic identity was strengthened due to contact and contrast with groups with different cultures. In 1899, the year of Slivka's birth, Jessup established its own parish church. It is not insignificant, in light of Father Slivka's subsequent preferences, that the church's charter contained the term *Greek Catholic*.

Slivka's seminary training took place in the multiethnic city of Užhorod in the newly-established Czechoslovakia. Unlike several men before and after who attended American Latin-rite institutions, he was part of a new generation of American-reared students educated in European Greek Catholic seminaries. Following the Greek Catholic tradition still permitted by the church at that time, he married Anna Shereghy, the daughter of a priest, shortly before his ordination by Bishop Basil Takach on March 28, 1926, in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Father Slivka's first Divine Liturgy was celebrated in Jessup.

Father Slivka appears not to have taken an active role in the celibacy struggle of the 1930s, although given his traditionalism he must certainly have opposed the new discipline. During those years he served in several parishes in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. After assignments in Whiting, Indiana and Yonkers, New York, he was appointed pastor of St. Elias Greek Catholic Church in the Greenpoint section of Brooklyn.

It was in Brooklyn that he produced most of his scholarly and popular works. These include: *Rusin-English Dictionary* (1963), *English-Rusin Dictionary* (1973), numerous catechetical and devotional pamphlets, and several studies on culture and history. Extremely interesting is the short essay, "Who Are We?" (1977), in which he argues on linguistic grounds in favor of a Rusyn identity by contrasting the Rusyn language with that of the Eastern Slovaks. He also



reminds us that the ecclesiastic term *Byzantine* was hardly ever used in the United States until the 1940s. The essay mentioned thirty ethnic and religious terms, most of which Slivka found both confusing and erroneous. In another volume, *The History of the Greek Rite Catholics in Pannonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Podkarpatska Rus' 863-1949* (1974), Slivka argued that the Rusyns were in Pannonia before the Magyars arrived in 896. About half of this book contains material on the territorial grievances in Eastern Slovakia, the autonomy issue, and forced Czechization during the interwar years. Particularly difficult to locate is his "The History of St. Elias Catholic Church, Greek Slavonic Rite," which appeared in 1966 in the church's seventy-fifth anniversary program. In this piece, Slivka did not omit the problem of Latinization. Slivka's *magnum opus* was a collection of documents entitled, *Historical Mirror, Sources of the Rusin and Hungarian Greek Rite Catholics in the United States of America 1884-1963* (1978). This compilation of 177 hard-to-locate documents, several of which reflect crucial turning points in Rusyn-American church history, is of lasting significance.

Father John Slivka died in Brooklyn on November 1, 1986. As pastor of St. Elias, he was respected for his piety and sound fiscal management as well as for his scholarship. His last will and testament requested that the burial liturgy be in Church Slavonic. Father Slivka was and always will be a Rusyn!

Richard Renoff
Westbury, New York

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY: JEWS, RUSYNS, AND THE HOLOCAUST

In the following article, Dr. Henry Abramson of the University of Toronto explores topics presented in several books on Carpathian Jewry listed below that were published in Israel and the United States during the past three decades.—Editor

Herman Dicker. *Piety and Perseverance: Jews from the Carpathian Mountains*. New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1981.

Joseph Eden (Einczig). *The Jews of Kaszony, Subcarpathia*. New York: n.p., 1988.

Karpatorus. Edited by Yehudah Erez. *Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot* (Encyclopaedia of the Diaspora), Vol. VII. Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Hevrat Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot, 1959.

Sefer Marmarosh: Meah u-shishim kehilot kedoshot be-yishuvan u-vehurbanan (The Máramaros Book: In Memory of a Hundred and Sixty Jewish Communities). Edited by S.Y. Gross and Y. Yosef Cohen. Tel Aviv: Beit Marmaros, 1983.

Shlomo Rozman, *Sefer Shafar harerei kedem: golat Karpatorus-Marmarosh be-tifertah u-vehurbanah* (The Book of the Beauty of the Ancient Mountains: The Exile of Carpathian Rus'-Máramaros in Its Glory and in Its Destruction), Vol. I. New York: Zikhron Kedoshim ve-roshei Golat Ariel, 1991.

Shlomo Rozman. *Sefer zikhron kedoshim: le-yehudei Karpatorus-Marmoresh* (The Book of Memory of the Holy Ones: For the Jews of Carpathian Rus'-Máramaros). Rehovot, Israel: n.p., 1968.

A moving Hebrew prayer with the title, "The Holy Ones of Kaszony and Surroundings," is included by Joseph Eden in *The Jews of Kaszony, Subcarpathia* immediately preceding the alphabetical list of those murdered by the Nazis:

The holy ones, who were killed, and those who were burned, torn up, and buried alive at the hands of the Nazis and their helpers—they were the righteous, people of generous character and people of faith, schoolchildren, even young babies—they should find their rest in the Garden of Eden.

Master of Mercy, gather up their souls in the bonds of life. You are their heritage, preserve for us their suffering, and elevate us and all Jews in their merit.

May the land not cover up their blood, let there be no place where their cries are not heard.

In their merit may all Jews return to their portion, and the holy ones be remembered always, may their righteousness be before Your eyes, so that peace should be upon them and they should rest easily. Amen.

This prayer is evocative of many of the themes prominent in the genre of the *Yizker-bukh*, or "memorial book," a popular medium for expressing grief over the tremendous loss and dislocation brought about by the Holocaust. Written by survivors and descendants of survivors, these memorial books have an important function for Holocaust survivors and their descendants in that they attempt to deal

with the psychological impact of the physical annihilation of past generations through an often-idealized depiction of their existence in Eastern Europe. The memorial books also serve as a method by which the regional identities of the remnants of these Jewish communities, transplanted for the most part in North America and Israel, may be preserved before the threat of assimilation to the host culture.

Several *Yizker-bikher* have been written on Subcarpathian Rus' and its localities, most recently the first volume of Rabbi Shlomo Rozman's projected series, *The Book of the Beauty of the Ancient Mountains*. Written for popular consumption, the *Yizker-bikher* vary considerably in their adherence to the stringencies of modern scholarship. Some, like Yehuda Erez's contribution to the Encyclopaedia of the Diaspora series, are highly scholarly and supported with ample documentation in several languages. Others are more liturgical in quality, and although in many ways they come much closer to describing the abject horror of the Holocaust, their concern for modern, critical, historical analysis is less pronounced. To date, Dov Dinur's brief study, *Shoat yehudei Rusyah ha-Karpatit—Uzhhorod* (The Holocaust of the Jews of Carpathian Rus'—Uzhhorod), remains the most important scholarly monograph on the topic. Several graduate students in Israel, however, are currently working on related dissertations.

Like the prayer cited above, an essential element in the *Yizker-bikher* is the maintenance of what seems to be an unusual but fundamental self-contradiction. On the one hand, the *Yizker-bikher* implore the Master of Mercy to grant the victims of the Holocaust a peaceful rest in the afterlife, while on the other hand they demand that "the land not cover up their blood, let there be no place where their cries are not heard." How can both be maintained simultaneously?

A peaceful rest requires the satiation of either vengeance or forgiveness—perhaps even both—but it is clear that eternal rest is inconsistent with eternal lamentation. The synthesis of these two polarities is rooted in the statement: "preserve for us their suffering [literally: remind us of their bondage] and elevate us and all Jews in their merit." For their horrible deaths to have meaning, they must act as a rallying cry for Jewish self-consciousness, alarmingly threatened by the demographic upheaval of the Holocaust and the subsequent dispersion of survivors from their homeland in new, more secular climes. While wishing on the innocents a peaceful rest, the survivors plead that the memory of their murder not be removed from subsequent generations, to act as a glue to bind together the dispersed fragments of the Jewry of Subcarpathian Rus'.

Idealizing the memory of the martyred Jews is, however, only one part of the inarticulate strategy of the *Yizker-bukh*. Exploring the malice and cruelty of the tormentors also has a tremendous potential for demanding allegiance to regional identities among the survivors and, more importantly, their descendants in North America and Israel. In fact, this aspect may prove to be even more effective among later generations than the appeal to the innocence of the victims. The essence of their righteousness, after all, was rooted in a high degree of observance of traditional Jewish ritual and strict adherence to the ethical principles of that faith. For their immigrant descendants, many of whom were raised in incomparably more secular environments, concentration on this central aspect of the victims' lives may have the undesired effect of increasing "survivors' guilt," as they increasingly reject this level of religious observance, preferring the

more American or Israeli lifestyle over their Subcarpathian heritage. In this sense, they are repudiating the core values and belief system of the ancestors in whose name they demand satisfaction. Relying on the mobilizing power inherent in righteous indignation, concentration on the depravity of the Nazis and their collaborators may supplant long panegyrics on the religious identification of the murdered ones. Thus, the Holocaust becomes a surrogate religion of sorts for American and Israeli Jewry—powerful enough to demand adherence to the in-group, yet negative enough to require few physical demands on its practitioners.

It is in this sense that the phrase, “may the land not cover up their blood, let there be no place where their cries are not heard,” gains its full meaning. The Hebrew reader will recognize the allusion to Genesis 4:10, when Cain is questioned about his brother’s murder: “What have you done? The voice of your brother’s blood is crying to me from the ground.” Cain is subsequently punished with eternal wandering, yet his safety is assured with a special mark which prevents others from murdering him. Thus the villain must remain, alive and ubiquitous, to remind others perpetually of his crime against Abel. Similarly, the perpetrators of the Holocaust must remain in memory, particularly when the gentleness of the shepherd Abel is a concern no longer relevant to his descendants.

The Jews of Subcarpathian Rus’ were the last medieval Jews of the western world. Unlike the more cosmopolitan parts of the continent, the Jews of this region lived in an island of traditional mores and lifestyles that was much more isolated from secularizing influences than any other area of Jewish settlement in East Central Europe, as amply detailed in Rabbi Rosman’s work. This is not to say that this community of 100,000 Jews, about one-fourth of the total population of the region, representing roughly one-third of the Jews in Czechoslovakia, was completely cut off from the flow of history. Zionism, for example, did make significant inroads among the youth of Subcarpathian Rus’. Nevertheless, these Jews were far more reluctant to dive into the irreligious twentieth century than Jews in other areas. In the rest of Czechoslovakia, for example, intermarriage rates among Jews were higher: thirty percent in Bohemia, nineteen percent in Moravia, and even five percent in the strict Jewish community in Slovakia. By way of contrast, the rate in the Subcarpathian region was a paltry 0.9 percent. The Jews of Subcarpathian Rus’, moreover, overwhelmingly identified themselves as Jews by nationality. The 1921 census reveals that only 53.6 percent of Czechoslovakian Jewry declared their nationality as Jewish, the bulk of the remainder identifying themselves as Czechs (21.8%), Germans (14.3%), or Hungarians (8.5%). In Bohemia, only 14.6 percent of Jews declared themselves Jewish by nationality, whereas Jews in other regions were somewhat more inclined to consider their nationality identical with their religious affiliation (Moravia 47.8%; Slovakia 54.2%). In Subcarpathian Rus’, however, as high as 86.8 percent of Jews considered themselves Jews by nationality, a figure well above the national average.

Their extreme adherence to tradition and strong Jewish self-consciousness were not the only distinguishing features of Subcarpathian Jewry. Unlike the general Eastern European pattern of Jewish settlement, Subcarpathian Jewry was far more rural than urban. Statistics from 1921, for example, indicate that sixty-five percent of Subcarpathian Jewry lived in villages with a population of less than 5,000. Almost half of the Jews in Bohemia, by way of contrast, lived in the

city of Prague. Corresponding with this pattern of settlement, the Jews of Subcarpathian Rus’ were much more heavily involved in farming and related agricultural occupations, such as beekeeping, than commerce or artisanry. The poverty of these rural Jews was considerable: an American Joint Distribution Committee study of the area conducted in 1921 determined that fully forty percent of Subcarpathian Jewry was reliant on communal charities for income. Even the distribution by age group was further differentiated between Jews in Subcarpathian Rus’ and elsewhere in Czechoslovakia. In western regions of the country, the Jewish population was aging faster than the non-Jewish population, whereas the Jewish population in the far east was virtually identical by age group to the indigenous Rusyns, indicating similar socioeconomic contours as well as lifestyle choices.

In the cities, however, Subcarpathian Jewry conformed to the more common pattern for urbanized Jewry in other parts of East Central Europe. Jews constituted roughly a third of the population of the major cities; Mukačevo was a major Jewish center where in 1910 Jews formed nearly half of the population. Although the urbanized Jews had been drifting steadily towards a Magyar orientation during the pre-World War I period—in Užhorod, for example, 41.3 percent of the inhabitants called Hungarian their mother tongue in 1890, and by 1910 that figure had jumped to 82 percent—the establishment of the new state of Czechoslovakia prompted the urbanized elements to rethink their cultural orientations. Subsequently, a certain drift towards Slovak and, to a lesser degree, Hebrew and Czech, as a standard medium for communication is discernible in this period. While the vernaculars of rural Subcarpathian Jewry continued to be Yiddish and Rusyn, Jews were not enthusiastic supporters of the new Rusyn school system. Jews were looking to provide their children with the most advantageous education possible (and they did this with zeal, so that in 1920-21, Jews constituted seventy-two percent of the student population of the region), and Slovak and Czech provided greater opportunities for advancement. Moreover, the nationalistic atmosphere of the Rusyn schools put parents off, as one author illustrated with the example of a Jewish child reciting to his concerned Orthodox parents the lines from Duchnovyč that he had learned in his Rusyn class: “I was, am, and will be a Rusyn/I will not forget my honorable lineage/And will remain its son. My mother and father were Rusyn, as were my whole family.”

In a way, the conflict between Rusyns and Subcarpathian Jewry over the educational system is a reflection of the greater tensions between the communities during the inter-war period. Both groups welcomed Czechoslovakia’s democracy with enthusiasm yet soon found themselves vying with each other for favor with the new, paternalistic government in Prague. Moreover, the separatist tendencies of the Magyars in the region and the demands for greater autonomy by the Rusyns alienated the Jewish population, which strove to maintain and develop ties with the central Czechoslovak authorities. The orientation of the Jews towards the center was traditional and may be observed in many other regions and periods of Jewish history. As a minority, the Jews have sought to support the powers that are most likely to maintain a *Rechtsstaat*, or society governed by law and order, and revolutionary change is ipso facto always inconsistent with the maintenance of order. The Magyar orientation, though fashionable for these reasons in the pre-war period, lost a considerable degree of Jewish

support after the savage pogroms of the “White Terror” which in Hungary followed the toppling of the Kun regime in the summer of 1919.

The Rusyns were also dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of the Czechoslovak government, and many moved towards the Ukrainophile orientation—though not necessarily irredentism—in the later 1930s. This turn to the Galician form of interwar Ukrainian nationalism was disturbing to Subcarpathian Jewry, as the influence of Nazi ideology was pronounced in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and other Ukrainian right-wing groups. While antisemitism was only a small part of the OUN’s overall platform, it was certainly not inconsequential, and it added to the tensions developing between Jews and Rusyns in the interwar period. The Ukrainian and Ukrainophile nationalists understood the Czechoslovak orientation of Subcarpathian Jews in a decidedly negative manner. Jews were seen as perennial detractors of the Ukrainian cause, always seeming to defect to Ukraine’s enemies, be they Russians, Poles, or Czechs.

Those Rusyns who were Ukrainophiles were to take the leading role in the immediate pre-war environment. Following the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia forced by the Nazis in October 1938, the Ukrainophiles set up (initially with the assistance of the Russophiles) the first autonomous government in Subcarpathian Rus’, later calling it Carpatho-Ukraine. These developments from the new capital of Chust were alarming to the Jewish community. One memoir records that Jews were afraid to travel after hours, since “non-Jews [were] going about in the streets like drunkards, screaming dire threats against Jews and their businesses.” The Nazis took advantage of their own popularity, in particular among the Ukrainians active in the region, and sponsored an antisemitic campaign directed at rousing the Rusyns against their Jewish neighbors. More ominously, Ukrainians in Chust are said to have openly prepared “blacklists” of wealthy Jews, an activity which was consistent with the Nazi pattern of “aryanization,” or confiscation of Jewish property. Although aryanization was typically a first stage in what was to become the murder process, Carpatho-Ukraine was too short-lived to be further involved. Hungarian troops crossed the border and occupied the entire region in March 1939, after which it was renamed Carpathia (Hungarian: *Karpatalja*).

Approximately 90,000 of the over 100,000 Jews of Subcarpathian Rus’ were murdered at the hands of the Hungarians and the Nazis. The destruction of these Jews conformed to a pattern that was common for many countries in Eastern Europe. It began with a definition of the term *Jew*, proceeded to confiscation of property, then ghettoization, and finally deportation to death camps. The Hungarian government, like several other states in the region, drew distinctions between Jews who were citizens of Hungary, Jews from areas recently acquired by Hungary, and Jews who were refugees from other countries, the latter being the first to be murdered. In the summer of 1941, some 20,000 Jews who had found refuge in Subcarpathian Rus’ were deported to neighboring Galicia, which was part of the Nazi territory of the Generalgouvernement in former Poland and the destination of thousands of Jewish deportees. The military governor of Galicia, however, refused to accept these Jews. This was rather typical of the confusion and disagreement characteristic of the Nazi Jewish policies at the time. The result was that some 12,500 of these deportees were simply

shot by SS units at Kamjanec’-Podil’s’kyj. This approach seemed to have some popularity among elements in both the German and Hungarian regimes, and several more requests for such deportations were entertained in following years. Adolf Eichmann, Hitler’s expert on the “Jewish question,” demurred, waiting until a more comprehensive plan could be put into place. Meanwhile, ghettos were established for Jews in Mukačevo (Munkács), Košice (Kassa), Užhorod (Ungvár), Chust (Huszt), Sevljuš (Nagyszőlős), Berehovo (Beregszász), and other locales, and Jews were occasionally rounded up for forced labor in Ukraine.

It was not until May 1944 that the mass deportations began. Subcarpathian Rus’ was designated Deportation Zone I. Within three weeks, the majority of Subcarpathian Jewry had been gassed and burned in the infamous death camp called Auschwitz.

What was the role of the Rusyns in this terrible history? While Carpatho-Ukraine existed (October 1938—March 1939), no Jews were murdered. Nonetheless, the fledgling state did adopt Jewish policies that were ominously threatening to the future of Subcarpathian Jewry. To repeat, however, Carpatho-Ukraine came to an end before anything more concrete might have occurred, indeed before a single Jew was murdered. It is also worth mentioning that the Rusyns were not in the least a trusted ally of the Hungarians, as their claims for autonomy conflicted with Magyar demands. Thus, a Magyar-Rusyn collaboration to murder the Jews was highly unlikely, at least in a formal, administrative sense.

On an informal level, however, how did the Rusyns behave towards their Jewish neighbors? One source cited by Gross and Cohen in the *Sefer Marmarosh* describes Rusyn cooperation in the roundup of Jews (referring to them as “the searchdogs of the Hungarian gendarmes”) with the bitterness of betrayal:

This is a great source of pain. This nation, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian of Máramaros, which was raised alongside and together with Jews during the previous seven or eight generations, betrayed its neighbor in times of trouble in a low, cruel and ugly manner . . . How was it that did they not pass the test on the day of trial? How did they hand over hunted Jews, entire families with their wives and children, to the Hungarian foe, which was the enemy of the Ruthenian people, as well, in exchange for a quart of liquor? Oh, Ruthenian nation, how low you stooped, down to the very depths. You betrayed your neighbor for a pittance!!! (pp. 39-40)

Little research has been done on Subcarpathian Rus’ as a whole and still less on the behavior of Rusyns during the Holocaust, and these charges have yet to receive the attention of the scholarly community. The *Yizker-bikher* provide considerable anecdotal evidence, however, of Rusyns exposing Jews in hiding to the Hungarian murder machine, often in exchange for some sort of bribe. This is not to say that individual cases of protecting Jews are not also recorded, including a rare example of an entire community of Rusyns in Košel’ovo acting to protect the Jews, even supporting them with food in the ghetto. Nevertheless, these examples remain the distinct minority. On the other hand, the memoirs are unanimous in describing the idyllic relationship between Jews and Rusyns in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. For example, Joachim Schoenfeld in his *Shtetl Memoirs* (1985) writes fondly of his youthful trips into the Carpathians:

The *Hutzuls* (Ruthenian mountaineers) who were in the mountains for the entire summer tending their sheep in the *poloninas* ([upland] pastures) were very hospitable people, and anyone who came up to them was always welcome to find shelter in their *coliba* [hut], to sleep on fresh hay alongside the *watra* (watchfire). Whoever came to their hut was also invited to share in their meal, which consisted of *mamaliga* (corn bread cooked in salted water to a hard consistency) with *bryndza* (sheep cheese) and milk. They didn't ask for payment but were more than happy if they were rewarded with pipe tobacco, which they couldn't afford to buy. . . . The evenings were spent with the *Hutzuls*, listening to their tales about Dobosh (a kind of Robin Hood), and the miracles performed by the *svaty* Srulko, the Saint Israel, i.e. the *Bal Shem Tov*, whom even Dobosh revered and admired. (pp. 130-131)

This passage, typical of descriptions of pre-World War I Jewish-Rusyn relations, is indicative of a high degree of cultural cross-fertilization (linguistic and even religious) and generally paints a portrait two peoples in harmonious symbiosis. Even the work of Gross and Cohen, which is particularly strident in its accusations against the Rusyns, refers to Jewish and Rusyn children playing together as well as the use by Rusyns of Jewish Rabbinical courts and Jewish midwives.

How can this paradox of Jewish-Rusyn relations be understood? How can two peoples who apparently coexisted so placidly for generations suddenly be reduced to such depths in a matter of a generation? In the absence of more sophisticated scholarship, a comprehensive answer which takes into account the regional peculiarities of Subcarpathian Rus' is unavailable. A more general understanding of the problem, however, based on the paradigm of the Belarusans, Ukrainians, and the Baltic peoples, seems to be useful at least to some degree. Simply put, like these peoples the Rusyns increasingly viewed themselves as dominated by foreign powers during the interwar period and looked with admiration to the rapid reconstruction of Germany under Hitler, perceiving him as a saviour from Communist hegemony. The influence of Ukrainian political émigrés from Galicia was certainly instrumental in fostering this attitude, particularly during the brief existence of Carpatho-Ukraine.

On the other hand, this simplistic understanding of the problem is deeply unsatisfactory. It fails to explain the deeper human dimension of the problem, which is more concerned with what is described as the mass betrayal of Jews by their longstanding neighbors, a topic which has been treated to some degree in the historiography of western nations although to a lesser degree of the east. Furthermore, the charges of betrayal have to be adequately quantified, as they were put forward by the anguished survivors whose experience of extreme persecution must be taken into account. To cite Gross and Cohen, for example: "It is not our intention to say that the Rusyn people, down to the very last individual, were all guilty, yet 'the majority may be considered as the entirety'." The basis for this statement must have been the absence of rescue, which is fundamentally a representation of compliance, apathy, or at least a feeling of helplessness on the part of the Rusyns. Active collaboration in the form of revealing hidden Jews to the Hungarians is another matter altogether, and while it is widely asserted that this took place, it is difficult at this stage in our historical knowledge

to determine accurately the extent of this phenomenon. While some scholars have studied Subcarpathian Rus' during the Holocaust years, few have considered Rusyn-Jewish relations. They instead focus on Hungarian-Jewish relations, since the Hungarians were in charge of directing the murder process. A true and complete picture of how Rusyns reacted to the murder of their longstanding Jewish neighbors awaits its description by historical scholarship.

The *Yizker-bikher* reviewed here, however, are not dedicated solely to the accurate representation of the Holocaust in all its details and complexities. Their purpose is to act as both a memorial to the martyred innocent ones as well as a bond to bring their descendants closer to the Jewish community. As the American-Israeli definition of Jewishness becomes less and less religious, the emphasis on the innocence and piety of the murdered Jewry of Subcarpathian Rus' may become less prevalent, its place taken by concentration on the cruelty of the Rusyns. Unfortunately, this development does not bode well for future research in this troubling and tragic period in Jewish-Rusyn relations. While renewed study of primary sources (interviews with survivors, German and Hungarian military documents, etc.) promise to advance significantly the current state of historical knowledge surrounding this tragic period of Jewish-Rusyn relations, it may have little impact on the portrait of the era painted in the *Yizker-bikher*, which often have an internal dynamic of their own, independent of the scholarly world.

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JEWS IN CARPATHIAN RUS' TODAY

Since the revolutionary changes of the late 1980s, the remnants of the Jewish community in the Carpathians have begun to reorganize. In Subcarpathian Rus' (Ukraine's Transcarpathia), there are an estimated 3,500 Jews organized in eight communities in the cities and towns of Užhorod, Mukačevo, Berehovo, Vynohradiv, Svaljava, Tjačiv, Chust, and Jasinja. Each community functions independently and has its own synagogue, although at present none has its own rabbi. Since 1991, the Jews of Transcarpathia also have their own civic organization, the Menora Society of Jewish Culture, which together with the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns is a member of the region's board of national minorities.

In the neighboring Lemko Region of Poland, the former Jewish presence is remembered through the establishment of a Memorial Room of Jewish Culture at the Museum of Lemko Culture at Zydranowa, a small Carpatho-Rusyn village near the Dukla pass. The Jewish memorial room was opened in June 1994 at the initiative of Fedir Goč, founder of the Museum of Lemko Culture. It is located in a small house that before World War II belonged to Zalman Polster, who with his entire family perished in the German death camps. The dilapidated Jewish home was restored with funds and labor supplies provided by the Orthodox bishop of Sanok-Przemysł, Adam Dubec, the village of Zydranowa, and members of the local Orthodox parish and museum committee.

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN RESEARCH CENTER AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The following text was delivered at the opening plenary session of the 17th World Congress of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences held in Prague in June, 1994.—Editor

In 1990, aside from the nearly 1.9 million Americans who claimed Slovak ancestry and the 1.3 million who claimed Czech ancestry, there were 315,000 Americans who said they were of “Czechoslovakian” ancestry. It is likely that many, if not most, of those 315,000 “Czechoslovaks” were themselves or had parents or grandparents who were actually Carpatho-Rusyns.

I mention this statistical data to underline the fact that the Czechoslovak idea is alive and well among thousands of people in North America and that it is in large part promoted by Carpatho-Rusyns. Regardless whether Rusyn Americans identify themselves as Carpatho-Rusyns, Rusnaks, Ruthenians, or Carpatho-Russians, if they come from south of the Carpathians they generally would say that their country or the country of their parents and grandparents is Czechoslovakia. This includes even those Rusyn Americans whose parents were born in the Austro-Hungarian empire, and who therefore were technically never even on Czechoslovak territory, as well as those whose forebears came from what is today the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine.

It is not difficult to discover why Czechoslovakia has been and continues to be so close to the hearts of Rusyn Americans. First of all—and this fact is often forgotten by our Czech and Slovak brethren—the Carpatho-Rusyns were one of the founding peoples of Czechoslovakia. And since Rusyns historically never had their own state, their first country became Czechoslovakia. Moreover, they joined the new Czechoslovak state with high hopes, because during his travels in the United States in 1918, Professor Tomáš Masaryk promised Rusyn Americans that they would be granted autonomy and be able to rule themselves. The Rusyn-American connection with the homeland was at the time so close that when Masaryk became Czechoslovakia’s first president he appointed an American citizen, the young Rusyn leader Gregory Žatkovský, to be the first governor of Subcarpathian Rus’.

Many who are familiar with the history of Czechoslovakia know that the promises of autonomy for Subcarpathian Rus’, which were guaranteed by international law (Treaty of St. Germain) and inscribed in the Czechoslovak constitution, were never fully realized during the first Czechoslovak republic. Less well known, but also true, is that the organized Rusyn-American community protested vigorously during the 1920s and 1930s to the Czechoslovak government, to the League of Nations, and to other international organizations, reminding them of Prague’s refusal to grant the promised autonomy to Subcarpathian Rus’. What is even more significant about those Rusyn-American protests, however, was that none ever spoke about seeking inde-

pendence or about joining some neighboring state. Rather, Rusyn Americans, aware that the first Czechoslovak republic was basically a democratic state, felt that as in America they were going to continue speaking out—however long it took—until their goals were achieved.

It should, therefore, come as no surprise that during World War II, when Subcarpathian Rus’ was occupied by Horthy’s Hungary, Rusyn-American leaders like former governor Žatkovský who had for almost twenty years protested against the Prague government, nonetheless joined with Czechoslovakia’s government-in-exile, headed by Edward Beneš and Jan Masaryk, in an effort to free the common homeland of Czechs, Slovaks, and Rusyns. It should also come as no surprise that when the war ended and Subcarpathian Rus’ was annexed to the Soviet Union, the Rusyn-American community’s largest religious and secular organizations immediately issued formal protests to the United States government and the newly-established League of Nations against what they considered the “forced annexation” of Subcarpathian Rus’ to the Soviet Union and the violation of the democratic desires of the Rusyn people to remain within their country—Czechoslovakia.

While a few Rusyn Americans joined the Council for Free Czechoslovakia in Exile and fewer still associated with the Ukrainian-American community, most lost all interest in the political fate of their ancestral homeland during the decades after World War II. There were two reasons for this: (1) the pre-World War I first immigrants were rapidly passing from the scene and their American-born or American-raised offspring were less interested in what was still fondly called the “old country”; and (2) the harshness of Soviet rule in Subcarpathian Rus’ and Communist rule in Czechoslovakia effectively cut them off from communication of any kind with relatives in the Carpathians. The nearly four decades of separation from the European homeland had another very negative effect. Many descendants of Rusyn Americans lost all sense of their ancestral Rusyn heritage and identity and, at best, had only a vague awareness that their forbears had come from somewhere in a country called Czechoslovakia.

It was to instill a new sense of Rusyn awareness in second-, third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Rusyn Americans that the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center (C-RRC) was born in 1978. Founded exclusively by Americans born after World War II, who were partially or wholly of Rusyn ancestry, the C-RRC set out to reverse the lack of knowledge about the Rusyn homeland not only among Rusyn Americans themselves but among the larger American public. The center decided to achieve its goal not through political activity or lobbying the United States and other governments, but through a broadly based publication program, most often with the leading publishing houses in the United States, Canada, and western Europe. Since its establishment, the C-RRC has worked closely with the largest Rusyn-American religious and secular organizations, including the four dioceses of the Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Church, the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Church, and the Greek Catholic Union. At most these organizations comprise half of the estimated 620,000 Americans of Rusyn background.

For its part, the C-RRC is concerned with members of established Rusyn organizations as well as with those who have lost all formal ties with the community. The result has been to attract over 8,000 supporters and countless other

readers of the C-RRC's publications worldwide, from North America, to most countries in Europe, and to places farther afield, like Israel, Japan, Taiwan, and Australia. The center's quarterly, the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, which has also appeared since 1978, is received by individual readers as well as by over 55 major libraries in North American and Europe. To end this brief review of statistics, it is worth noting that during its first 16 years of existence, the C-RRC has distributed 25,000 books and articles about all aspects of Rusyn history and culture by leading university publishers like Harvard, Columbia, Washington, and Toronto as well as to individuals and libraries in every state of the United States and over 45 countries abroad.

The C-RRC's publications strive to reflect the historical record as accurately and impartially as possible. In that regard, the Rusyn relationship with Czechs and Slovaks and with the former country of Czechoslovakia is a frequent theme. On balance, the record of Rusyn relations with Czechs and Slovaks has been a positive one. As a result, the C-RRC, while being concerned primarily with promoting knowledge and scholarship, has at the same time functioned as a good-will ambassador for the Czechoslovak idea. This role has been made even easier by recent political developments.

The C-RRC, like most Rusyn-Americans, greeted with joy the news of the Velvet Revolution of November 1989. For the first time in over four decades, Rusyns of all generations in the United States could finally begin to restore once again normal relations with their families, friends, and organizations in northeastern Slovakia, and to a degree with Transcarpathia in Gorbachev's reformed Soviet Union.

Of particular importance was the fact that in Czechoslovakia the Velvet Revolution did indeed fulfill its promise to restore a liberal democratic state concerned with human rights and the rule of law. The Greek Catholic Church was fully restored to its rightful juridical place, and in 1991 the Czechoslovak census accepted and recorded the designation *Rusyn* as a distinct nationality and language. The Czech and Slovak federal government and both republican governments also helped to establish new organizations and publications that supported the idea that Rusyns comprise a distinct nationality—such views had been forbidden during the Communist era—and in March 1991 the country hosted in Medzilaborce the First World Congress of Rusyns at which the C-RRC represented Rusyns from the United States. Rusyn Americans are pleased to note that these positive developments begun in post-1989 federal Czecho-Slovakia are being carried out further by the government of the republic of Slovakia with regard to the indigenous Rusyns living in the Prešov Region in the far northeastern part of the country, and by the government of the Czech Republic among Rusyns and their descendants who have lived for several decades in Prague and northern Moravia.

Therefore, it is quite natural that the C-RRC, to the degree that it promotes knowledge of Rusyn history and culture abroad, will continue as well to promote the good name of the Czech Republic and of Slovakia, in another words the good name of all Czechs, Slovaks, and Rusyns who together embody the Czechoslovak idea.

Paul Robert Magocsi
Toronto, Ontario



Patient: I was, am, and will remain a Rusyn.

Doctor to nurse: It's hopeless, even though he's already gotten a transfusion of five liters of pure Ukrainian blood!

(Cartoon by P. Petki, Užhorod, Ukraine)

RECENT EVENTS

Toronto, Ontario. On April 11, 1994, Professor Paul Robert Magocsi delivered a lecture sponsored by the Hungarian cultural society, Itt Ott, entitled: "Hungarians in Ukraine (Transcarpathia)." The discussion focused on the Hungarian demand for self-rule in that part of southern Transcarpathia where a Hungarian (Magyar) minority lives as well as on the general attitude of the Ukrainian government toward autonomy for Transcarpathia.

Vienna, Austria. On April 13, 1994, Robert C. Metil presented a lecture at an international conference on the traditional music of ethnic groups that was sponsored by the Institute for Folk Music Research in Vienna. His topic was "The Influence of Interethnic Conflicts and Cleavages on the Patronage and Performance Repertoire of the Rusyn-American Folk Ensemble 'Slavjane' of McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania." Metil is a doctoral candidate in ethnomusicology at the University of Pittsburgh, and as part of his work he has been studying the work of the Slavjane Rusyn-American folk ensemble, a topic about which he also spoke on October 30, 1993 at the 38th annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology at the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi.

Medzilaborce, Slovakia. On May 13, 1994, a one-day scholarly conference was devoted to the life and career of Anatolij Kralyc'kyj (1835-1894), the late nineteenth-century Carpatho-Rusyn writer and national activist. The conference was sponsored by the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians in Slovakia (SRUS) and included sixteen speakers, most of whom discussed Kralyc'kyj in the context of Ukrainian culture. Only three of the speakers were from outside Slovakia: Reverend Atanasij Pekar (Rome), V. Jaremenko (Kiev), and V. Zadorožnyj (Užhorod).

Sosnowiec, Poland. On May 20-21, 1994, the Institute of East Slavic Philology at the University of Silesia sponsored an international scholarly conference on mutual contacts in the development of Slavic languages. Four papers were delivered in Rusyn about the current status of the language: by Dr. Vasyľ Jabur (Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture, Prešov), Dr. Jurij Pan'ko (Šafárik University, Prešov), Dr. Henryk Fontański (University of Silesia), and Myroslava Chomjak (Uście Gorlickie, Poland). Among the commentators was Professor Přemysl Adamec (Charles University, Prague), who noted that the present-day Rusyn language codifiers have returned "to a tradition that fifty years ago was unnaturally disrupted." The process of codifying the Rusyn language," he continued, "should be completed as soon as possible."

Minneapolis, Minnesota. On May 28, 1994, the Rusin Association of Minnesota sponsored a lecture-discussion by Professor Paul Robert Magocsi (University of Toronto) that dealt with the question of Rusyn-American identity in the past and present. He especially emphasized the role of the Minneapolis community in the growth of Orthodoxy in America and, as a result, the rise of a Russian identity among many Rusyn Americans.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The 38th Annual Pittsburgh Folk Festival was held May 27-29, 1994, with 25 nationality groups participating. Among those featured were Carpatho-Rusyns. Carpatho-Rusyn involvement was sponsored by

the Slavjane Rusyn Folk Ensemble of McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, and the new Carpatho-Rusyn Society of the Tri-State Area. The Carpatho-Rusyns organized a cultural display and heritage service, offered *pysanky* demonstrations, served Rusyn ethnic food in a cafe-style setting, and presented Rusyn songs and dances.

The theme of the festival was "Hats Off to the World," and featured headdresses of the various participating groups. The Rusyn exhibit included ritual, festive, and everyday headgear from the Lemko Region, the Prešov Region, and Transcarpathia. Displayed in addition were wedding headdresses, *jasličkarý* headgear, and kerchiefs or *chustky* worn during the various stages of a woman's life.

A highlight of the display was a chart listing the ten Carpatho-Rusyn villages that provided the greatest immigration to western Pennsylvania. A poster showed each village, the names of the families from that village that immigrated to the Pittsburgh area, and in which western Pennsylvania community each family settled. This demographic data, the work of Richard Custer of Pittsburgh's Carpatho-Rusyn Society, was received enthusiastically by the numerous people of Rusyn background who stopped at the display.

The Slavjane Ensemble's junior and senior groups presented two outstanding shows of Carpatho-Rusyn folksongs and dances, directed by Jack Poloka of McKees Rocks. The shows featured material from Rusyn villages of eastern Slovakia, some of it brought back by Dean Poloka, who studied the authentic dances with PUL'S, the professional Rusyn folk ensemble in Prešov, Slovakia.

Prague, Czech Republic. On June 26, 1994, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center was one of several organizations invited to participate in the opening plenary session, entitled "Mission and Work of Czechoslovak Exiles on Behalf of Their Native Land," of the 17th World Congress of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences held in Prague. Dr. Paul Robert Magocsi represented the C-RRC at the plenary session (see **THE CARPATHO-RUSYN RESEARCH CENTER AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA** in this issue), and two days later another of his papers was presented on the topic, "The End of Czecho-Slovakia From the Rusyn Perspective."

YUGOSLAV RUSYN YOUTH FUND

The fund has begun to receive several donations for 1994. These include:

Amalija N. Fairbanks, MD, Birmingham, Alabama—\$1,000
Elmer T. Lokkins and Gustavo A. Archilla, New York, New York—\$50
Kirill Papuga, Edmonton, Alberta—\$50
Vladimir Ruskai, Hamilton, Ontario—\$100

This is a good start, but subsequent funds are still needed to fulfill the goal of this year's program—to send a teacher of English to the high school in Ruski Kerestur toward the end of the 1994/1995 school year. Please be generous. Further tax deductible donations of \$50 or more may be sent to:

Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund
Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, Inc.
Box 131-B
Orwell, Vermont 05670

SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1989

Užhorod, Ukraine. On June 29, 1994, Professor Ivan Turjanycja, the chairman of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns and the prime minister of the Provisional Government of Subcarpathian Rus', was elected a member of Transcarpathia's parliament (Narodna Rada). He is one of seven deputies elected to the new Transcarpathian parliament who openly support the creation of an autonomous republic of Subcarpathian Rus' within Ukraine and the full recognition of Rusyns as a distinct nationality. Professor Turjanycja and his fellow pro-Rusyn deputies for the first time have access to an officially recognized platform from which to argue their views.

Zyndranowa, Poland. In June 1994, a new magazine about Carpatho-Rusyns began with the appearance of its first issue. Entitled *Zahoroda* (The Garden), the magazine is devoted to the past and present culture of Lemko Rusyns in Poland and is published by the Museum of Lemko Culture in Zyndranowa, founded in the 1970s by the long-time Lemko-Rusyn cultural activist, Fedir Goč (see *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. X, no. 2, Spring, 1987). The first issue was prepared by the Lemko-Rusyn writer, Volodyslav Hraban, with most of the articles in Lemko Rusyn and a few in Polish. Those interested in receiving or contributing to *Zahoroda* should write to: Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej, 38-454 Tylawa k/Dukli, POLAND.

Užhorod, Ukraine. During the second round of regional elections held in Ukraine in July 10, 1994, Serhij I. Ustyč (b. 1955) was elected chairman of the 51-member Transcarpathian parliament (Narodna Rada). A former university professor, in April 1994 he was elected one of Transcarpathia's deputies to the Ukrainian national parliament in Kiev. Ustyč is known to be a supporter of the idea of autonomy (self-rule) for Transcarpathia; he has spoken out strongly in favor of making the region a "free economic zone" within Ukraine; and he is understanding of the demands for having Rusyns recognized as a distinct nationality.

RUSYN FOLK MUSIC AVAILABLE

Enjoy a treasury of 50 Carpatho-Rusyn songs and dances, produced by the Kruzhok folk art ensemble of Cleveland, Ohio, and entitled "Zaspivajme," "Let's Sing." Hear melodies to move your feet and lighten your spirit as you dance and sing along with this popular album for all ages. Included are Carpatho-Rusyn love songs, family songs, polkas, čardašes, waltzes, round dances (*karičký*), the Bear Dance, the Bottle Dance, children's favorites, humorous songs, wedding songs, and others. On two stereo cassettes, forty-four singers and a ten-piece folk art orchestra provide nearly two hours of Carpatho-Rusyn music. Cassettes are enclosed in a sturdy and handsome case. A sing-along songbook with complete Rusyn-to-English translations is included.

The song and dance melodies are collected from Rusyn immigrants and include American-Rusyn songs as well as songs of Rusyns in present-day Transcarpathia, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. Perfect for folksong and folkdance groups, families, and individuals who want to learn and enjoy Rusyn songs and dances.

The double-cassette album is \$21.80, which includes postage. Extra sing-along books are \$4.00, including postage. A 10% discount is offered for more than 10 song booklets. To order, send a check or money order (made out to Jerry J. Jumba) to Jerry J. Jumba, 312 Hamilton Street, McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania 15136.

OUR FRONT COVER

Traditional Jewish shop in a village in Subcarpathian Rus' before World War II.

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (ISSN 0749-9213) is a quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center Inc., a non-profit cultural organization whose purpose is to promote knowledge about all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture through the publication and distribution of scholarly and educational material about the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in Europe and America.

General inquiries concerning the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, and all communications concerning this publication, should be directed to:

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132 Hawthorne Street
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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



The enthusiasm which has gripped the Rusyn community in Europe and America in the past four years since the revolution of 1989 continues to be refueled at every turn with new developments both in the community itself and in the scholarly world which studies and monitors the group's life. The recently established Carpatho-Rusyn Society based in Pittsburgh, for instance, is thriving under the leadership of active and energetic Rusyn Americans in western Pennsylvania. In September 1994, the society sponsored a Rusyn Day Picnic in Monroeville, Pennsylvania, attended by nearly 200 members.

The society has also developed a comprehensive display of Rusyn culture, including costumes, embroidery, woodwork, and religious items. Representatives of the society have already presented the display at events such as the 50th anniversary convention of the American Carpatho-Russian Youth of the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Pittsburgh on Labor Day weekend, as well as at the October convention of the Orthodox Society of America, successor to two Rusyn-American fraternal organizations (UROBA and Liberty) in Westlake, Ohio. The Carpatho-Rusyn Society's publication, *The New Rusyn Times*, reports on cultural events, and offers the commentaries of visitors to the homeland, as well as brief reviews of books on Rusyns and recordings of Rusyn religious and secular music by performers in America and Europe. Among other activities, the society is presently planning a Rusyn Heritage Tour to the homeland to be led by members John Righetti and Jerry Jumba in the summer of 1995. The Carpatho-Rusyn Society can be reached at 125 Westland Drive, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217 (tel. 412-682-2869).

At the same time, many Americans of Rusyn background are sitting back to enjoy reading Paul Robert Magocsi's *Our People*, which appeared in late 1994 in a revised and significantly enlarged edition with an additional fifteen fascinating historical photographs—totaling well over 100 photographs, maps, and charts. The book contains a new chapter on Carpatho-Rusyns in Canada and a greatly expanded "Root Seekers Guide to the Homeland" that offers the most complete list to be found anywhere of Carpatho-Rusyn inhabited towns and villages in central Europe. The guide provides the name of the town or village, the pre-World War I county or Austrian Galician district, the present administrative subdivision, and the present country. Also useful to root seekers is the fact that the names are given in their present-day official form, as well as in a number of other variants which are historically relevant—Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Rusyn, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, and Ukrainian. Finally, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center itself has just produced an updated listing of publications on Rusyns, including *Our People*, available for purchase.

The larger scholarly community has also been active in its exploration of Carpatho-Rusyn topics (see the **RECENT EVENTS** section of this issue). At the 26th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Philadelphia in November 1994, two presentations concerning Rusyns were given. Professor Elaine Rusinko of the University of Maryland discussed Rusyn literature from the point of view of post-colonial

literary theory, and talked about how the literature of Carpatho-Rusyns presents a unique and intriguing case to scholars in several respects. Later, as a participant in a panel on Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe, I spoke about the Orthodox Church in Slovakia, whose members are nearly all Carpatho-Rusyns. At next year's AAASS national convention scheduled for Washington, D.C., on October 26-29, 1995, an entire panel will be devoted to Carpatho-Rusyns. Papers on three major aspects of the Rusyn revival—politics, literature, and language—will be presented by established scholars in the Slavic academic world. As at the Philadelphia convention, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center will again have its own booth at the book exhibit.

Meanwhile, on January 27, 1995, in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, a celebratory event took place, announcing the long awaited codification of the Carpatho-Rusyn standard literary language as spoken in the Prešov Region. This will have tremendous implications for the future of Carpatho-Rusyns both in the homeland and abroad. From its very beginnings, the Rusyn movement has called for the creation of a standard language to be used in its nationality building, in its schools, in the media, and also to be represented by a university department. And from the beginning of the recent national revival, scholars, writers, and poets have been occupied with the precise definition of the standard language.

Rusyns in Czechoslovakia were long blocked from having radio and television programs, university courses, and elementary school classes in the Rusyn language because the prevailing powers refused to approve use of an uncoded language. Now, with a codified form of Rusyn formally recognized, all arguments for not using Rusyn, whether by secular or religious institutions, fall by the wayside. It is true that up to now people did write and publish in Rusyn, but editorial boards were faced daily with questions of proper linguistic forms and usage. With the standard form of Rusyn defined and detailed in grammars, dictionaries, and orthographic guides, such questions have now been resolved.

The appearance of a Rusyn standard language is truly a success story resulting from political changes in East Central Europe following the revolution of 1989. That the language has been defined and its existence formally proclaimed demonstrates concretely that the drive and concern for human rights on the European continent is at last being meaningfully applied to Central Europe. The creation and announcement of the Rusyn standard language is likewise a successful and positive result of the Slovak government's policy on national minorities, which ought to inspire Rusyns in other countries where the political situation is not as favorable toward them as in Slovakia, for instance, in Ukraine's Transcarpathia.

For our sisters and brothers in the homeland, the possession of a standard literary language for use throughout the society will add immeasurable depth and dimension to Rusyn consciousness. For us, Rusyn Americans and students of Slavic history, culture, and language, the creation of the standard Rusyn language should permit the production of reliable tools for learning the language—grammar texts, tapes, CDs. The possession of a codified and recognized literary language places all of us, so to speak, officially on the linguistic map. We extend our sincere congratulations to all who worked so diligently to achieve this goal.

IVAN JU. P'ĚŠČAK (1904-1972)

December 20, 1994 marked the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Dr. Ivan Pěščak—teacher, editor, lawyer, and prominent civic and political activist of the Carpatho-Rusyn people. Pěščak was born into an impoverished peasant family in the Prešov Region village of Vel'ký Lipník. He attended a Rusyn elementary school in Prešov and later the Russian-language high school in Mukačevo, and took his law degree at Charles University in Prague.

As a member of the Union of Rusyn Teachers in Slovakia, Pěščak was intensely concerned with the problem of Rusyn schools in eastern Slovakia. Together with the president of the union, Ivan Gender, he organized and edited the newspaper, *Russkaja škola* (Rusyn School). In this newspaper, as well as in his writings addressed to government officials, political parties, and political movements, he managed to raise the quality of Rusyn schools and culture.

Pěščak was editor and contributor to the newspapers *Russkoe slovo* (The Rusyn Word) and *Russkij vestnik* (The Rusyn Messenger), for which he founded the supplement, *Sotackij russkij vestnik* (The Sotak Rusyn Messenger). He was also the founder and publisher of the newspaper, *Prjaševskaja Rus'* (Prešov Region Rus'). In March 1945, Pěščak helped create *Prjaševščina* (The Prešov Region), the official publication of the Ukrainian National Council of the Prešov Region. Apparent in his writings was his courage in defending the interests and rights of Rusyns living primarily in eastern Slovakia, and he was often involved in polemics regarding these issues.

Pěščak gave priority to the question of youth, their upbringing in the spirit of patriotism, their education, and the strengthening of their moral character. He co-founded the Ob'edinenie russkoj molodeži Slovakii (Society of Rusyn Youth of Slovakia), which became very successful under his leadership. His erudition, resourcefulness, and political acumen became particularly apparent in this context. One result of his initiatives and organizational work was the establishment in the mid-1930s of a Greek Catholic Rusyn high school in Prešov, a project supported also by Greek Catholic Bishop Pavel Gojdyč.

Pěščak worked for the "broadest autonomy for Subcarpathian Rus'," which was guaranteed by the Treaty of St. Germain on September 10, 1919, and strengthened by the first constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic adopted in 1920. Pěščak saw autonomy as the first stage toward the eventual complete political, economic, social, and national development of the Carpatho-Rusyn people. As a deputy of the Czechoslovak National Parliament in 1937-1939, Pěščak focused on several issues: the right of national self-determination, defence of human rights, the problem of denationalization, the government's reneging on publicly made promises, unemployment, and the on-going poverty of Rusyn peasants. Pěščak supported the anti-fascist and democratic national and social orientations in Rusyn political life.

When Slovakia had practically achieved autonomy and Hungary continued to threaten annexation of neighboring Subcarpathian Rus', all the members of the Rusyn Bloc, including Pěščak, signed a "Declaration" on September 21, 1938 in Prague that demanded for Rusyns the realization of "our right of self-determination and our right to govern ourselves." This was the first step toward autonomy for Subcarpathian Rus'. At a meeting of pro-Russian and pro-



Ukrainian representatives of the Carpatho-Rusyn people held at the governor's house in Užhorod on October 8, 1938, the first autonomous government of Subcarpathian Rus' headed by Andrej Brodij was formed. Pěščak entered the government as state secretary responsible for the justice department and later the finance department as well. This first autonomous government lasted only three weeks, after which the Czechoslovak central authorities appointed the pro-Ukrainian Avhustyn Vološyn as prime minister.

With the change of government in Subcarpathian Rus', Pěščak left his post and returned to eastern Slovakia. There he put all his energies into preparations for the elections to the Slovak parliament. After the formation of an independent German-oriented Slovak state in March 1939, Pěščak was considered a potential danger to Slovakia because of his courageous participation in the parliament, press, and in pre-election activities. He was arrested, severely beaten, and sent to a detention center. After his release he was taken from Prešov to Medzilaborce where he remained under close police supervision.

In spite of on-going persecution, Pěščak took an active part in the underground anti-fascist movement during World War II. After the liberation of eastern Slovakia, he helped revitalize the activity of the Rusyn National Council of the Prešov Region, which was soon replaced by the Ukrainian National Council. Thanks in part to his efforts, cultural institutions such as the Ukrainian National Theater in Prešov (now the Duchnovyč Theater) and the Dukl'a Folk Ensemble were founded.

Unfortunately, in 1949 the Communist government of Czechoslovakia accused Pěščak and his family of being bourgeois nationalists. As a result, by the early 1950s he was forbidden to practice law, was removed from his home in Sabinov, and was forced to support himself as a manual laborer. Within a few years after retirement, Pěščak died on December 7, 1972, after a long and difficult illness.

Janko Pěščak
Prague, Czech Republic

RUSYN RENAISSANCE SOCIETY (RUSYNS'KA OBRODA)

The recent national revival among Carpatho-Rusyns in Europe is closely connected with the revolutionary year 1989. Ever since that time, the Rusyn Renaissance Society/Ruthenian Revival (Rusyns'ka Obroda) has been in the forefront of the Rusyn national revival wherever it has been unfolding in Europe. Although based in Prešov and responsible primarily for developments among Carpatho-Rusyns in Slovakia, the Rusyn Renaissance Society has at the same time become the most active of all cultural organizations among the six European countries where Rusyns live.

One reason for the success of the Rusyn Renaissance Society has to do with the generous financial support it receives from the government of Slovakia as part of its policy of assisting in the preservation of minority cultures living within its borders. A second and even more important reason for the organization's success is the commitment and dedication of a small group of leaders who are trying their best to reverse the tide of national assimilation and to create a sense of pride in the present and future generations of Rusyns, particularly in Slovakia, but also in neighboring countries—Ukraine, Poland, Hungary.

The Rusyn Renaissance Society came into being in the wake of Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution that began on November 17, 1989. Already in January 1990, an extraordinary meeting of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT) was held in Prešov to discuss the future of the Carpatho-Rusyn people of Slovakia following the fall of the Communists from power. During Communist rule, Carpatho-Rusyns were officially designated as Ukrainians. The name *Rusyn* as well as any sense that Rusyns might form a distinct nationality was banned. Those who gathered at the January 1990 meeting in Prešov all agreed that the old Communist-sounding name of their cultural organization had to be changed, but they disagreed as to what the new name—and therefore national orientation—should be. Some wanted the name *Ukrainian* and the Ukrainian orientation to be continued as during the Communist era; others—mostly among the younger generation—wanted the name *Rusyn* and a Rusyn cultural orientation.

When agreement over the name and orientation proved impossible to reach, several pro-Rusyn activists set up in March 1990 in the town of Medzilaborce the Rusyn Renaissance Society. Its founders were Dr. Michal Bycko, Stepan Bunganyč, Father František Krajňák, and Mychal Turok-Heteš. Meanwhile, the pro-Ukrainian activists in Prešov changed the name of the old Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers to the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia. That renamed organization also continued to receive the same generous state funding that during nearly four decades the Czechoslovak government had provided the pro-Communist Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT). As for the newly-founded Rusyn Renaissance Society, it did not yet receive any state funding. Nevertheless, with the help of the town of Medzilaborce, the society's leaders managed to publish in the spring of 1990 the first issue of a public affairs and Christian magazine called *Rusyn*. This was the first time since World War II that a Rusyn-language publication appeared in Slovakia.

Within a few months, it became clear that a Rusyn cultural organization in Slovakia could not survive if it were based only in one part of Rusyn-inhabited territory and if it did

not receive government funding. Thus, in November 1990, the Rusyn Renaissance Society decided to become an organization representing Rusyn throughout Slovakia. In that regard, it transferred its headquarters to Prešov and elected Vasyľ Turok as its new chairman. At the time, Turok was a dramatist with the recently renamed Aleksander Duchnovyč Theater (formerly Ukrainian National Theater) in Prešov, which to this day has provided space for the central offices of the Rusyn Renaissance Society.

The goals of the Rusyn Renaissance Society have remained the same since its establishment in 1990. Among those goals is the standardization of a Rusyn literary language, which should be used in schools, publications, the theater, on radio, and in other public activities that are representative of the Carpatho-Rusyn people in Slovakia. Rusyn should also be used in Eastern Christian (Greek Catholic and Orthodox) church services, a long-time goal of one of the founding members of the organization, Father František Krajňák. Under Turok's direction, the Rusyn Renaissance Society did manage to receive an annual budgetary grant from the Slovak Ministry of Culture beginning in 1991.

In order to carry out its cultural goals, the Rusyn Renaissance Society has continued publication of the magazine *Rusyn* (six times per year); has issued nearly twenty books on Rusyn folklore, history, language, and literature; and, since August 1991, has published a weekly newspaper, *Narodný novynký*, under the editorship of Aleksander Zozuljak who is simultaneously responsible for the organization's entire publication program. The society has also sponsored several folk festivals, art exhibits, cultural evenings, and specifically for young people an annual Rusyn Rock Music Festival which is now in its second year. The Rusyn Renaissance Society has also worked closely with the Aleksander Duchnovyč Theater and the PULS Rusyn National Folk Ensemble, both of which perform at all major functions that the society sponsors whether in Slovakia or abroad.

The international impact of the Rusyn Renaissance Society has been particularly important in bringing together Carpatho-Rusyns from all countries where they live in Europe (Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Yugoslavia) and North America (United States and Canada). In March 1991, the society hosted in Medzilaborce the first World Congress of Rusyns. This, indeed, was the first time Carpatho-Rusyns from all countries met to discuss the problems they face in trying to preserve their culture and language for future generations. The society has also joined with other national minorities on the European continent, and in November 1993 it became one of the founding members of the Maison de Pays, an international organization based in Cannes, France that is concerned with the fate of minority cultures.

As part of its broader cultural mandate, the Rusyn Renaissance Society has sponsored several international scholarly conferences. Two of these, held in May 1992 and October 1994, dealt with historical, cultural, and religious problems in the past and present. Of especially practical significance was a working seminar on the codification of the Rusyn language, popularly known as the first Rusyn Language Congress, held in Bardejovské Kúpele in November 1992. In the presence of several distinguished sociolinguists from abroad, writers from all countries where Rusyns live agreed on several theoretical and practical issues regarding codification (see the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. XV, No. 4, Winter 1992, pp. 4-5).

One suggestion made at the language congress was to

create a permanent scholarly institution to coordinate efforts at language codification. Two months later, in January 1993, the Rusyn Renaissance Society established in Prešov an Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture, eventually headed by Dr. Vasyľ Jabur. In its less than two years of existence, the institute has published a Rusyn language primer and reader for elementary schools, a terminological dictionary, and an orthographic rule book. With the assistance of Slovakia's Ministry of Education, the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture is expected to be transformed in January 1995 into a university department (*katedra*) at the Pedagogical Faculty of Šafárik University in Prešov. That same month, the efforts of the Rusyn Renaissance Society and the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture culminated with the formal announcement of the creation of Rusyn literary standard in the presence of governmental officials, academics, and international guests who met in Bratislava, Slovakia to mark this historic occasion.

Executive Board



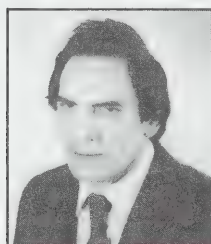
Milan Andraš was born in 1953 in Renčišov, a Carpatho-Rusyn village in the Prešov Region. He is a professor of architectural engineering at the Slovak Technical University in Bratislava, where he has taught since 1978. He received his doctorate in 1986, and since the Revolution of 1989

has been active in organizing Rusyns who live far from their native villages in the capital of Slovakia. He founded the Dobrians'kyj Student Society for university students of Rusyn background in Bratislava as well as the Bratislava branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society. He serves as resident liaison for the society with various Slovak government ministries, and he writes frequently on Rusyn themes for the Slovak press.



Ivan Banduryč was born in 1934 in Strihovce, Humenné county. After graduating from the Russian *gymnasium* (high school) in Humenné, he attended the Technical University in Bratislava, where he received a Ph.D. in the history of art and specialized in problems of cultural organizations. Since 1954, he has lived in Bardejov,

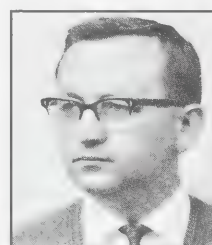
where for over thirty years he worked in the field of cultural conservation, including two decades as director of the Bardejov Regional Office for Architectural Conservation. During his years in that office, the old city center of Bardejov was restored and in 1986 was awarded a European Gold Medal for its achievements in restoration. Since 1990, Dr. Banduryč has been an outspoken promoter of Carpatho-Rusyn culture and is the head of the Bardejov branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society.



Fedor Barna was born in 1933 in Nižná Polianka, near Bardejov. In 1947, his family was among those who were encouraged by the authorities to emigrate to the Volhynia region of northwestern Soviet Ukraine. He graduated from Leningrad University with a degree in journalism, worked for a while as a journalist in Russia,

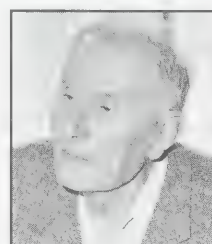
then as a researcher at the regional museum in Volhynia's

central city of Rivne. In the mid-1960s, he was allowed to return to Slovakia where he served on the editorial board of the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Nove žyttja* until 1991. Since 1992, he has headed the Prešov branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society, among whose activities has been the sponsorship of an international historical conference on Rusyns in October 1994.



Pavel Birčák was born in 1933 in Drienica, a Carpatho-Rusyn village in Prešov county. After graduating from the Russian *gymnasium* (high school) in Prešov in 1953, he attended the Slovak Technical University in Prešov, from where he received a degree in chemical engineering in 1958. He worked for nearly three decades as an

engineer at the East Slovak Steel Works outside Košice. He is active in the Aleksander Duchnovč Society in Prešov and heads the Košice branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society.



Štefan Bunganyč, born in Prešov in 1914, is the senior activist among Carpatho-Rusyns in Slovakia. He graduated from the Faculty of Science of Charles University in Prague in 1938, then worked in the Slovak Ministry of Finance during World War II. A teacher by profession, he served as director of the Russian *gymnasium* in Humenné (1945-1953) and the secondary school in Medzilaborce (1953-1960), before returning to teaching full time several Rusyn village schools until his retirement in 1976.

Bunganyč has always been an outspoken advocate of Rusyns. On the eve of the Communist takeover in 1948, he proposed that the government create a Rusyn autonomous district and adopt for official use there a distinct Rusyn literary language. Two decades later, during the Prague Spring of 1968, he called for a revival of the Rusyn national orientation and the creation of a Rusyn National Council, demands which were made impossible after the Soviet-led invasion of the country in August of that year. Following the November 1989 Velvet Revolution, Bunganyč proposed the creation of the Rusyn Renaissance Society in Medzilaborce, of which he was a founding member in March

1990. Since that time, he has completed a standard grammar of the Rusyn language and he heads the Medzilaborce branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society.



Marijan Charitun was born in 1963 in Snina. Since his graduation from high school he has worked for the Humenné county government. He has been a member of the Rusyn Renaissance Society since its establishment in March 1990, and since 1993 has been head of its branch in Humenné.



Jan Kalynjak was born in 1947, just after his parents had emigrated from the Prešov Region to Volhynia in the Soviet Ukraine. In the early 1960s, his family returned to Slovakia and Kalynjak attended Comenius University in Bratislava, specializing in ethnography. Recently, he has been working as cultural officer for the

county government in Svidník, where in 1992 he established and heads the Svidník branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society. Since 1993, he also serves as vice-chairman of the society. Kalynjak has been particularly active in working with young people, and under his direction the Svidník branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society has sponsored annual Rusyn rock music festivals in 1993 and 1994.



Ljubomir Latta was born in 1960 in Snina. He graduated from the Teacher's College of Šafárik University in Prešov in the mid-1980's. After graduation he worked for the city government in Snina as vice-director of the office for cultural affairs and head of the office for artistic activity and adult education. Since 1993, he

works for the Slovak Customs Department and has been stationed in Rusyn border villages. He is head of the Snina branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society, which under his direction has been particularly active in sponsoring exhibitions of contemporary Rusyn artists.

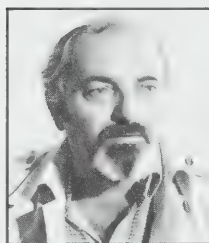


Nykolaj Ljaš was born in 1933 in Bajerovce, a Carpatho-Rusyn village in Prešov county. In 1950, he completed his secondary schooling in Sabinov, then studied acting at the State Conservatory in Bratislava, completing its program in 1954. He joined the Ukrainian National Theater in Prešov, where he performed for nearly four decades.

Ljaš became best known in the Prešov Region as the voice of the godfather (*kum*) on the popular satirical program, *Besidŷ kumiv* (Talks Between the Godparents), on Slovakia's Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts. His appearances as a godfather date back to the 1960s, and throughout the entire show he has always spoken exclusively in Rusyn.

Ljaš has never shied away from controversy. During the Prague Spring of 1968, he was an outspoken advocate for the renewal of a Rusyn nationality. He took up that cause publicly once again after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. In 1990, he was elected deputy to the Prešov city council, and for the next four years he defended Rusyn interests. Since early 1994, he has worked as public relations manager in

the editorial offices of *Narodnŷ novynkŷ*. In December 1994, he was elected chairman of the Rusyn Renaissance Society.



Jaroslav Sisak was born in 1939 in Pichné, a Carpatho-Rusyn village in Humenné county. After completing in 1953 his secondary schooling in Snina and Michalovce, he attended the Pedagogical School in Prešov. Upon graduation in 1957, he began his career as an actor at the Ukrainian National Theater in Prešov. In 1966, he was sent

by the Czechoslovak government to the Institute of Theatrical Studies in Kiev. Upon completing his advanced studies in 1971, Sisak returned to the Ukrainian National Theater in Prešov as a stage director.

In 1982, Sisak was appointed director of the Ukrainian National Theater, which includes both the dramatic company and the Dukl'a Folk Ensemble (PULS). Under his direction, the theater began to perform a few plays in Rusyn as early as 1986. Then, after the fall of Communist rule, the theater was renamed the Aleksander Duchnovyč Theater, and since 1991 its repertoire is mainly in Rusyn. Sisak has assured that the Duchnovyč Theater and PULS perform at all major Rusyn functions, including the first two world congresses. For the first time, the theater has performed in the Rusyn language in festivals abroad, including England, Wales, and Sweden.



Vasyľ Turok was born in 1940 in Habura, a Carpatho-Rusyn village near Medzilaborce in Humenné county. While his father was working in Bratislava, Turok completed high school in Slovakia's capital, then attended the Philosophical Faculty of Comenius University, graduating in 1963. From 1964 to 1985, he taught

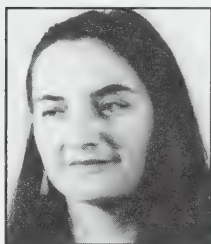
Slovak at the Ukrainian *gymnasium* in Prešov, and for over a decade during those years taught Russian as well at the Orthodox Seminary. Since 1985, he has been a dramatist at the Ukrainian National Theater, and was among those who actively urged that institution be renamed the Aleksander Duchnovyč Theater in later 1991. He was also responsible for the introduction of plays performed in Rusyn. Since the Velvet Revolution of November 1989, Turok has been the leading figure in the Rusyn national revival in Slovakia. In November 1990, he became chairman of the Rusyn Renaissance Society; in March 1992, he was instrumental in convening the World Congress of Rusyns, for which he was elected chairman of the interregional committee. From that time until leaving the chairmanship of the society in December 1994, Turok has represented Rusyns on various advisory boards of the Slovak government that deal with national minority issues.

Editorial Board



Anna Kuzmjakova was born in 1949 in Stráňany (formerly Folvark), a Carpatho-Rusyn village in Stará L'ubovňa county. After completing high school in Stará L'ubovňa in 1968, she attended the Pedagogical Faculty of Šafárik University in Prešov, graduating in 1978. For the next decade she worked as an editor on

popular-scholarly publications, especially folklore, for the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT) in Prešov. In 1989, she joined the staff of that organization's Ukrainian-language newspaper, *Nove žyttja*, where she played an active role in promoting a new section written in Rusyn, called *Holos Rusyniv* (Voice of the Rusyns). Since the summer of 1991, she has been on the editorial staff of *Narodný novynký* and the magazine *Rusyn*, and writes for the Slovak press and Prešov radio station on Rusyn affairs.



Marija Paraska Mal'covs'ka was born in 1951 in Ruský Potok, a Carpatho-Rusyn village in Humenné county. She completed high school in Prešov in 1970, then attended the Philosophical Faculty of Šafárik University. She received a Ph.D. in 1975, with a specialty in Ukrainian-language teaching methodology. For

the next three years, Dr. Mal'covs'ka worked as a researcher at the Institute of Literature at the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava. Returning to Prešov in 1978, she worked as an editor for the Ukrainian magazine *Duklja*. Since 1991, she has been on the editorial board of *Narodný novynký* and the magazine *Rusyn*. Dr. Mal'covs'ka is an accomplished writer and has published two collections of short stories in Ukrainian, *Jul'čyna tajna* (1988) and *Potočyna* (1991), both of which are filled with themes that express the joys and sufferings of Rusyn life. Her most recent collection of short stories, *Manna i oskamyna* (1994), are entirely in Rusyn.



Anna Pliškova was born in 1964 in Snina. After graduating from high school in her native town in 1982, she enrolled in the Philosophical Faculty of Šafárik University in Prešov. In 1987, she was awarded a Ph.D., with a speciality in the Ukrainian and Slovak languages. In 1989, Dr. Pliškova began working on the editorial staff of the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Nove žyttja*,

where she promoted a Rusyn orientation. Since the establishment in August 1991 of Slovakia's Rusyn-language newspaper, *Narodný novynký*, Dr. Pliškova has been its associate editor. She contributes actively to the language codification work of the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture.

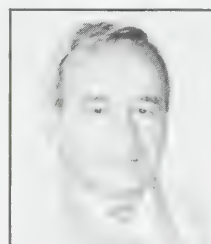


Aleksander Zozuljak was born in 1953 in Prešov, the son of the well-known post-World War II Ukrainian writer, Vasyl' Zozuljak. After completing Prešov's Ukrainian-language *gymnasium* (high school) in 1972, he attended the Pedagogical Faculty of Šafárik University, graduating in 1976 with a specialization in Ukrainian language, Ukrainian literature, and in fine arts. Zozuljak is an accomplished expressionist painter, whose works have been exhibited in several local shows throughout Slovakia.

Beginning in 1987, he served on the editorial board of the Ukrainian-language newspaper, *Nove žyttja*. Following the November 1989 revolution, Zozuljak began immediately to take an active role in civic affairs as head of the Initiative Group of Rusyn-Ukrainians, which worked to change the exclusively Ukrainian orientation that had dominated Rusyn life since World War II. At the same time, he became editor-

in-chief of *Nove žyttja*, and in early 1990 he introduced the *Holos Rusyniv* (Voice of the Rusyns) section written entirely in Rusyn. His pro-Rusyn policies alienated him from the paper's new publisher, the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czecho-Slovakia, and in 1991 he was asked to establish a Rusyn-language publishing program for the Rusyn Renaissance Society. Since that time Zozuljak has served as editor-in-chief of *Narodný novynký*, the magazine *Rusyn*, and the society's book publishing division. He is also a member of the executive board of the Rusyn Renaissance Society.

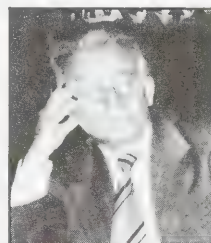
Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture



Vasyl' Jabur was born in 1936 in Stakčín. He studied at Charles University in Prague, specializing in Russian and Ukrainian language and philology. After graduating in 1958, he went to Comenius University in Bratislava where he received a Ph.D. in 1968, advanced scholarly status in 1985 (*kandidat vied*), and was promoted to the

rank of associate professor (*docent*) in 1990. For three decades he was a professor of Russian and Comparative Linguistics at Šafárik University in Košice (1964-1986) and at the Advanced School of Education in Nitra (1986-1993).

In January 1994, Professor Jabur became director of the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture in Prešov. Before the end of that year, he published a *Rule-Book of the Rusyn Language*, a 42,000 word *Orthographic Dictionary*, and has overseen the publication of Rusyn-language textbooks for elementary schools. Professor Jabur is also a member of the executive board of the Rusyn Renaissance Society.



Jurij Pan'ko was born in 1933 in Humenský Rokytov, a Carpatho-Rusyn village in Humenné county. After completing studies in 1953 at the Russian *gymnasium* in Prešov, he attended Šafárik University in Prešov, specializing in the Russian and Ukrainian languages. Following graduation in 1957, he worked as a *gymnasium*

teacher in Stará Ľubovňa and Prešov, and from 1962 to the present has taught Russian at Šafárik University. In 1970, he received a Ph.D. from the University of Brno, his "second" doctorate from that university in 1991, and three years later was promoted to the rank of associate professor (*docent*) by Comenius University in Bratislava.

In January 1992, Dr. Pan'ko became the first head of the newly-established Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture. In cooperation with Rusyn scholars and writers in neighboring countries, he published a *Terminological Dictionary of the Rusyn Language* (1994). Together with Professor Vasyl' Jabur, Dr. Pan'ko is engaged at the Rusyn language institute in overseeing publications in the newly-standardized Prešov Region variant of the Rusyn language.

Paul Robert Magocsi
Toronto, Ontario

LEMKO-RUSYN ORTHODOX PRIEST CANONIZED

The following is a report by the Very Reverend Daniel D. Ressetar of Christ the Saviour Orthodox Church (Orthodox Church in America) in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on the canonization of the Reverend Maksym Sandovyč, a Lemko-Rusyn Orthodox priest martyred by the Austrians on September 6, 1914, for refusing to denounce his affiliation with the Orthodox faith. For information about his life, see the Carpatho-Rusyn American, Vol. XVI, Winter 1993. —Editor.

The ceremonies for the canonization of priest-martyr Maksym Sandovyč began quietly on Friday morning, September 9, 1994, when a hierarchical Divine Liturgy was celebrated by Bishop Adam of Sanok in the old wooden Orthodox church in Żdźnia, Poland. This is the village, formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule, where Father Maksym lived with his wife and baby son and ministered to his Lemko-Rusyn people. Across the paved rural road at the cemetery where the martyr's remains lie, a requiem service was held later that day, and here the faithful began gathering in preparation for the journey to Gorlice where the canonization was to take place.

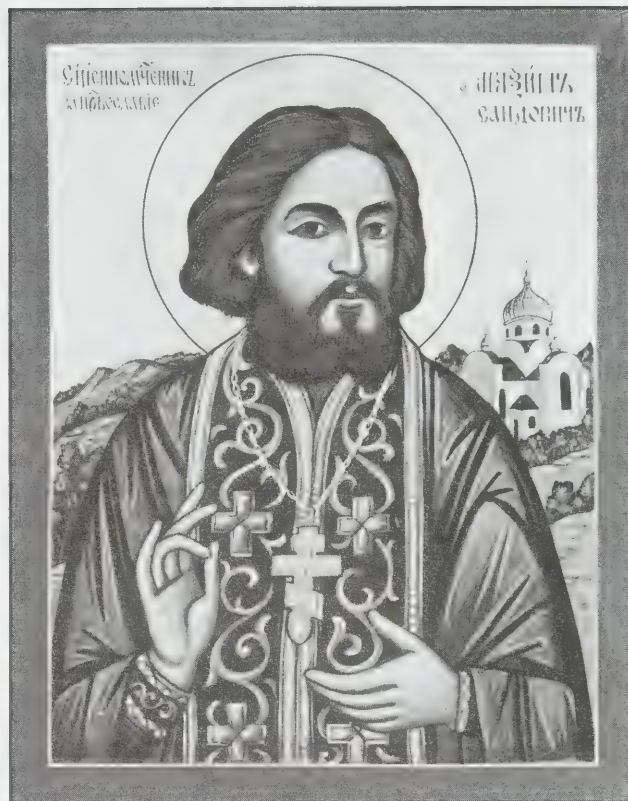
On the warm and sunny autumn morning of Saturday, September 10, a final requiem service was celebrated (requiems are not served in the Orthodox Church for saints after their canonization). On Saturday afternoon in the village of Gorlice, thirty-five priests surrounded by hundreds of faithful gathered in the courtyard of the Gorlice Region Court House, the site of Father Maksym's execution which took place eighty years ago. A choir from Kiev, Ukraine, led the responses and a bronze plaque marking the tragic event, recently placed on the courthouse wall, was blessed in the presence of an icon of the martyr.

To be participating in this service on the very spot of the saint's martyrdom was an extraordinarily moving experience for me, not only as an Orthodox priest, but also as Father Maksym's great nephew. I imagined that I could hear the shots of the firing squad and the last brutal shot fired at close range that was meant to ensure the prisoner's death. I could hear echoes of his wife's and parents' cries when they, also imprisoned here, realized that he had been executed.

Following the service, a procession of clergy and faithful carrying the martyr's icon—one of three already painted—made its way to Gorlice's recently erected Holy Trinity Orthodox Church. Present in the procession were the martyr's grandson, granddaughter, and great granddaughter. The crowd, now over 500 people, sang church hymns and religious folk hymns until they reached the church where the icon was placed, and a vigil service and matins were celebrated.

Ordinarily, the saint's relics would have been exhumed and transferred in the procession from Żdźnia to the church in Gorlice, but the Orthodox bishops decided to delay the transfer, fearing that it would provoke the area's Roman Catholics who reluctantly tolerate the Orthodox presence. They plan to allow the transfer and deposition of the relics in the church later.

The Holy Trinity Orthodox Church in Gorlice is a small, Byzantine-style structure crowned with one large central



An icon of St. Maksym Sandovyč portrayed in front of Holy Trinity Orthodox Church in Gorlice, Poland, where his relics will eventually be preserved. His stole and cuffs are colored red to denote that he is a martyr.

cupola and four small cupolas all topped by three-barred Orthodox crosses. It was consecrated on September 8, 1991, and is located about 350 feet from the main street, part of the highway that enters the town of Gorlice from the west. Behind it is a recently built parish hall, an education building with an auditorium-banquet room, and a new parsonage for the priest, the Reverend Bazyli Galczyk. The construction of all these buildings was made possible with funds from American Orthodox faithful.

On the cool and clear Sunday morning of September 11, the procession made its way to the church led by the faithful bearing the cross, Gospels, and icon banners, and singing hymns. At the church entrance, the faithful joined some forty clergy who greeted Metropolitan Vasily of Warsaw and All Poland. He was accompanied by Archbishop Nicholas of Prešov, Slovakia; Archbishop Sava of Białystok; Archbishop Herman of Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania (Orthodox Church in America); Bishop Nicholas of the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church; Bishop Adam of Przemyśl; and Bishop Abel of Lublin. At this main service of the canonization ceremonies, over 1000 worshipers (including 125 Orthodox faithful from America) filled the church and mostly stood outside. The liturgy lasted for several hours, and the responses were led by a diocesan choir.

After the major sermon was presented and before the Eucharist was administered, the official proclamation—signed by all the hierarchs and priests in the altar—was read to the people. It declared that the glorification of Father Maksym places him “in the ranks of the saints” of the Orthodox Church. The clergy with the seven hierarchs gathered



The Reverend Daniel D. Ressetar distributes icon cards to the faithful alongside Bishop Adam of Przemyśl after the canonization service.

in the center of the church surrounded by the faithful and sang the martyr's troparion, kontakion, and the magnification—all special hymns written in the new saint's honor.

A verse sung repeatedly by all, "O Priest-Martyr Maksym, pray unto God for us," sealed, as it were, the canonization. After the service, the faithful following the hierarchs and clergy processed outside and around the church. Readings from the Gospels were intoned, and again the troparion, kontakion, and magnification hymns were sung along with the special verse of intercession. In front of the church the protodeacon sang out the phrase, "God grant you many years," more than six times and the faithful joined in with the choir loudly and joyfully.

After a final homily and benediction by Metropolitan Vasily, Bishop Adam held the cross for veneration while I distributed icon prints of the new saint. The crowd rushed to the steps and reached out with eager hands to obtain their icons. An hour later in the parish hall a dinner was served by local faithful to the many visitors from elsewhere in Europe and abroad. Speeches were made and an impressive pageant was presented by some twenty school students. Offered entirely in Lemko-Rusyn, the presentation depicted the struggle of the Lemko-Rusyn people in poetry and song from the end of the nineteenth century to the years after the martyrdom of the new saint. The program included a concert of liturgical numbers sung by the diocesan choir.

The people lingered for a long time and seemed unwilling to let this unforgettable day come to a close. Some even returned to the church to pray and once again to venerate the icon of St. Maksym. I recalled that through the years the veneration of Father Maksym had remained strong in spite of two world wars and the persecution endured by his people. His sacrifice united many Orthodox believers in Poland and abroad regardless of their national backgrounds. Only now with the collapse of the Communist regime could the Orthodox Church in Poland openly celebrate Father

Maksym's sainthood and perform an official canonization. I am truly grateful to have been able to participate in this unique event.

The Reverend Daniel D. Ressetar
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

OUR FRONT COVER

Scene from the Carpatho-Rusyn Bethlehem Play, performed by students at St. Nicholas Byzantine Catholic School in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, under the direction of Jerry Jumba, Christmas 1990. "Young Guba" on right, played by Amy Uhal, insists that "Old Guba," played by Donna Kostrubanic, make a journey to Bethlehem to see the Christ Child. Photo: Kisan Productions.

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (ISSN 0749-9213) is a quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center Inc., a non-profit cultural organization whose purpose is to promote knowledge about all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture through the publication and distribution of scholarly and educational material about the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in Europe and America.

General inquiries concerning the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, and all communications concerning this publication, should be directed to:

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Patricia A. Krafcik, Editor
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Užhorod, Ukraine. On November 26, 1994, in conjunction with the 50th anniversary of the unification of Subcarpathian Rus' (Transcarpathia) with the Soviet Ukraine, and in response to the demands of several deputies in the Transcarpathian parliament (Naroda Rada) led by Stepan Kalabiška and Jevhen Župan (both from Mukačevo), the parliament's executive committee headed by its chairman Serhij Ustyč issued the following statement: "With regard to the specific question related to the implementation of self-rule for all regions [of Ukraine], including Transcarpathia, first it is necessary to assure the appropriate socioeconomic and political conditions." (*Novyny Zakarpattja*, November 26, 1994)

Nearly seventy-five years earlier, the influential Czech publicist Karel Kadlec, writing on December 2, 1920 in the Prague daily *Národní listy*, stated: "Many years must pass before Subcarpathian Rus' would be somewhat economically and culturally improved so as to receive autonomy."

Clearly, it seems little has changed between 1920 and today. In May 1919, Czechoslovakia accepted the voluntary union of the Subcarpathian Rusyns with the understanding they would be granted autonomy, a right subsequently enshrined in the Paris Peace Conference and Czechoslovak constitution. The Czechoslovak government never fulfilled its promises.

On December 1, 1991, citizens of Ukraine were given the right to vote in a referendum regarding their independence. In that same internationally recognized referendum, the inhabitants of Transcarpathia voted overwhelmingly—78 percent—that their region should receive self-governing status (autonomy). Yet three years have passed and the Ukrainian government and Ukrainian parliament in Kiev have still refused to act on the matter. The leading elements in the Transcarpathian parliament now seem to be following the lead of Kiev, arguing the time is not yet ripe for autonomy.

But when, if ever, will the "appropriate socioeconomic and political conditions" exist? And who is to decide when the "appropriate" level is reached? The Ukrainian government or its parliament in Kiev? The Ukraine's state administration in Transcarpathia? Or will Ukraine simply do what the Czechoslovak government did in the interwar years—find any and every excuse to deny what the voice of the people has itself called for in a free and democratic referendum held on December 1, 1991? On that day, Transcarpathians voted overwhelmingly for autonomy. It is time Ukraine lives up to its responsibilities.

RECENT EVENTS

Yonkers, New York. On September 18, 1994, the Carpatho-Russian American Center sponsored at Lemko Hall the first of several planned events to enhance their cultural activity on behalf of Lemko Rusyns in America. This first event featured a lecture by Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, University of Toronto, on the topic, "Who Are the Lemkos?" Over 200 people attended the lecture which dealt with several

issues of great concern to the audience: the origin of the name *Lemko*; the Russophile and Rusynophile movements; Lemkos in the United States; the Vistula Operation; and the current situation in the European homeland. A videotape of the lecture is available for \$15.00 from: Carpatho-Russian American Center, 556 Yonkers Ave., Yonkers, NY 10704.

Užhorod, Ukraine. In September 1994, Karpats'kyj Kraj Publishers in Užhorod published a Ukrainian translation of *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* by Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, originally published in 1978 by Harvard University Press. The Ukrainian edition, with a preface by the director of the Institute of Carpathian Studies at Užhorod State University, Professor Ivan Pop, was made possible by grants from Archbishop Stephen Kocisko of Pittsburgh; the Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Eparchy of Passaic; the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center; the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto; and the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

The Aleksander Duchnovyč Society (Obščestvo Aleksandra Duchnovyča) in Transcarpathia held on October 14, 1994 a book launch in Mukačevo in the presence of Professor Magocsi, the director of Karpats'kyj Kraj Publishers, Vasyľ Kuchta, and over 75 guests. Following the book launch, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center arranged for the distribution gratis of 650 copies of the book: to Orthodox Bishop Jefemij Šutak (150) and Greek Catholic Bishop Ivan Semedi (100) for all priests in their respective eparchies; to the Institute of Carpathian Studies (100) at Užhorod State University; to the Aleksander Duchnovyč Society (100); and to the Institute for Learning and Education (200) for distribution to all high-school libraries throughout Transcarpathia.

Bardejovské Kúpele, Slovakia. On October 15-16, 1994, the Prešov branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyn'ska Obroda) in cooperation with the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center in the United States held an international scholarly conference entitled, "Rusyns in the Period of the Slavic National Revivals." Among the speakers were distinguished academicians and university professors from several countries, including: Thomas Bird (Queens College, City University of New York); L'udovít Haraksim (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava); Ján Havránek (Charles University, Prague); Ivan Pop (Institute of Carpathian Studies, Užhorod); Miron Sisak (Šafárik University, Prešov); István Udvari (Bessényei Pedagogical Institute, Nyíregyháza); and Ferdinand Uličný (Šafárik University, Prešov). The basic topics addressed were the place of Rusyns in the Slavic world, the Rusyn national revival in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concept Rus' in the Carpathians; and the position of Rusyns between the Catholic and Orthodox cultural spheres.

The conference was conducted by Professor Paul Robert Magocsi (University of Toronto), and aside from the formal presentations there was active participation by several other scholars, including: Father Imrich Belejkanič (Orthodox Theological Seminary, Prešov); Alexander Duleba, (Slovak Institute for International Studies, Bratislava); Marian Gajdoš (Slovak Academy of Sciences Institute for Social Studies, Košice); Vasyľ Jabur (Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture, Prešov); Vasyľ Kerecman (Užhorod State University); Stanislav Konečný (Slovak Academy of Sciences Institute for Social Studies, Košice); Andriy Kovač

(Šafárik University, Prešov), Jarosław Moklak (Jagiellonian University); Mykola Paliničak (Užhorod State University); and Jozef Selepec' (Šafárik University, Prešov). The conference was funded by Slovakia's Ministry of Culture who was represented by its advisor for national minorities, Dr. Josef Prokop.

Westlake, Ohio. On October 21-24, 1994, the Orthodox Society of America, headed by President George G. Lichvarik, held its annual convention. The fraternal organization hosted members of the Carpatho-Rusyn Society of Western Pennsylvania who presented a display of Rusyn artifacts, music, and ethnocultural material, and provided information to Rusyn Americans seeking their roots in the homeland.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania. On Sunday, October 30, 1994, the annual Carpatho-Rusyn Celebration was held at St. John's Byzantine Catholic Church School hall. The event featured talks by John Righetti on "Who Are the Rusyns?" and by the Reverend Ivan Mina on "Current Events in Carpathian Rus'," and a dance workshop taught by Jerry Jumba and Beth Kovaly. The Slavjane Folk Art Ensemble of McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, performed under the direction of John Poloka, and folk artist Bonnie Balas offered *pysanky* and decorative folk woodburning demonstrations. A large cultural display was featured by the Carpatho-Rusyn Society of Western Pennsylvania.

McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania. On Sunday, November 13, 1994, the Carpatho-Rusyn Society of Western Pennsylvania shared two cherished folk traditions with parishioners and visitors at Holy Ghost Byzantine Catholic School: the Christmas Eve Holy Supper and the Bethlehem Play. Talks on Carpatho-Rusyn history and culture were offered by John Righetti and Jerry Jumba, and the traditional Holy Supper was served.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. On November 17-20, 1994, the 26th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies took place in Philadelphia. At this largest gathering of Slavic specialists in the United States there were two presentations devoted to Carpatho-Rusyns. In a session entitled "A Re-Vision of Central European Literatures," Professor Elaine Rusinko of the University of Maryland spoke about "A Forgotten Literature: The Case of Subcarpathian Rus'," in which she examined Rusyn literature in light of the contemporary theory of post-colonial literatures. The discussant in that session, Professor Halina Stephan of the University of Florida, expressed the awe that she and other Slavic specialists are experiencing as they witness before their eyes the creation, or re-creation, of a newly-recognized Slavic nationality, the Carpatho-Rusyns. In another session that dealt with Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe, Professor Patricia Ann Krafcik of the Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, provided a concise historical survey of the Orthodox Church in Slovakia, whose membership is virtually all Carpatho-Rusyn.

Aside from scholarly presentations, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center had its own booth at the book exhibit, headed by Barbara Kopitan Corbiey, at which the over 2,000 participants were able to view the wide variety of recent publications in English about Carpatho-Rusyns.

Binghamton, New York. On the weekend of November 19-20, St. Michael's Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church celebrated its 90th anniversary. Parishioners

placed special emphasis on their American Carpatho-Rusyn cultural history with a number of events, including a Carpatho-Rusyn dress-up ball with a traditional foods buffet as might have been held in 1904, a performance of a wedding play entitled "Grinornka" (Greenhorn), and a performance by the parish's youth ensemble, "The Carpathians."

Binghamton, New York. From November 25, 1994, through January 7, 1995, the Rusyn community of Broome County was represented at the Christmas Forest exhibit at the Roberson Museum. The Rusyn display was organized by the parishioners of St. Michael's Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Binghamton.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. On December 10, 1994, through the offices of the Pittsburgh International Folk Theater and the Pittsburgh Folk Festival, Inc., the Carpatho-Rusyn Society sponsored a Rusyn Christmas Choir of 31 singers who performed at the Wintergarden Stage of the Pittsburgh Plate and Glass building in downtown Pittsburgh. They sang carols within a presentation of the Christmas story. The choir was directed by Jerry Jumba.

Columbus, Ohio. On Sunday, December 18, 1994, an hour-long medieval Carpatho-Rusyn Bethlehem Play was staged at St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Catholic Church. Parish actors, dancers, and orchestra members performed under the co-direction of Thomas Katrenich, Cathy Pilat Katrenich, and Patricia Papai.

Tarentum, Pennsylvania. On January 14, 1995, the Russian Institute of the University of Indiana, Pennsylvania, in conjunction with Indiana and Greensburg area high schools sponsored a traditional Carpatho-Rusyn Christmas Eve Holy Supper and lecture at SS. Peter and Paul Byzantine Catholic Church. The event featured lectures by the Reverend John Koza and Jerry Jumba on Carpatho-Rusyn Christmas customs and the traditional Bethlehem Play.

RUSYNS IN CHINA

For several years, Dr. Johanna E. Katchen, an American of Carpatho-Rusyn background, has been teaching English in Taiwan, Republic of China. Recently, she sent a donation of \$100 which was added to our Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund. In her covering letter, Dr. Katchen wrote the following:

I find it amusing that although I teach English and linguistics to Chinese students majoring in English, less than 100 years ago my ancestors were poor peasants who didn't know a word of English (Štefan Kačín, my grandfather, came from Ruská Poruba in what is now East Slovakia). After the fall of communism in Central Europe, many visiting professors and researchers from Slavic countries come to Taiwan's universities. Here at Tsing Hua University we've already had a few from East Slovakia and two of Rusnak background. The world is indeed becoming smaller and smaller. Thus even in Taiwan a few of us sometimes get together and sing "Ja Rusyn byl."



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